SOURCE MATERIAL

FOR

A HISTORY OF THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT IN INDIA

(Collected from Bombay Government Records)

Vol. I
1818-1885

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Walter Homer

Government of Bombay

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FOR
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Vol. I
1818-1885

BOMBAY

PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS

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FOREWORD

In January 1953 the Government of India appointed a Board of Editors for the Compilation of a History of the Freedom Movement in India. In order to secure the material on which such a history could be based, the Board requested State Governments to set up committees for the purpose of collecting within their regions such material as may be useful in the preparation of an account of the struggle for freedom which may be said to have begun after the loss of that freedom and which ended with the achievement of independence on 15th August 1947. The Government of Bombay accordingly set up in November 1953 the "Bombay State Committee for a History of the Freedom Movement in India" consisting of the following members :—

1. Shri S. K. Patil, M.P. (Bombay), Chairman.
2. Shri K. N. Desai, M.P. (Surat).
3. Shri Devkinandan Narayan, M.P. (Jalgaon).
4. Shri S. Nijlingappa, M.P. (Mysore).
5. Shri T. R. Deogirikar, M.P. (Poona).
6. Shri Maganbhai Desai, Gujarat Vidyapeeth (Ahmedabad).
7. Prof. N. R. Phatak (Bombay).
8. Acharya V. P. Limaye (Poona).
9. Shri Lakshmanshastri Joshi (Wai).
10. Shri Thakorbhai M. Desai (Ahmedabad).
11. Prof. M. R. Palande (Executive Editor, *District Gazetteers*, Bombay), Executive Secretary.

L-A H 225—*a*

The Committee appointed Shri H. M. Joshi as Research Officer and Shri Gopalrao Kulkarni as Collaborator, both of whom worked continuously at the office in Bombay. Research Investigators were also appointed for Maharashtra, Gujerat and Karnatak areas. Additional research and other staff was appointed from time to time as was found necessary to cope with the work. The work of gathering material actually started in May 1954.

The Government of Bombay threw open to the Committee all its records and files, including confidential and secret files, in all departments, covering the period up to 1947. As it was the desire of the Central Board of Editors that the work of collecting material should be completed as soon as possible, the efforts of the Committee were mainly directed towards obtaining relevant information from the valuable Government documents most of which had never before been accessible to the public.

The Committee decided that the year 1818 which saw the defeat of the last Peshava should be taken as the starting point of the period for which information had to be gathered. The one hundred and thirty years from 1818 to 1947 naturally lent themselves to the following three divisions :—

1. 1818—1885 ... (Till the establishment of the Indian National Congress).
2. 1885—1920 ... (Till the starting of the Non-Co-operation Movement).
3. 1920—1947 ... (Till the achievement of Independence).

The Committee gathered information bearing on each of these periods, confining its attention mostly to

what was available in Government files in the Records Office, Police Department, and the Home Department of the Secretariat. No attempt was made to explore non-official sources of information excepting for a broad scrutiny of a few newspapers like *Bombay Courier, Bombay Gazette, Bombay Samachar, Bombay Darpan and Vartaman, Bombay Guardian, Hindu Patriot, Rast Goftar,* etc., etc., and interviews with a few important persons who were directly or indirectly connected with some movement or another in the cause of national regeneration and freedom. The statements of most of the persons who were interviewed were recorded. Copies of such material collected by the Committee, or notes based on that material, as had all-India importance were sent to Delhi, the total number of typed foolscap pages so sent being about 9000. Material which has local rather than all-India importance and which was therefore not sent to Delhi covers about 7000 typed foolscap pages.

The Central Board of Editors was dissolved in December 1955. But in view of the fact that some material available to the Bombay Committee had still to be scrutinised, the tenure of that Committee was extended to 30th September 1956 on which date it was dissolved. The Committee made a recommendation to Government that important and suitable extracts from the papers scrutinised by the Committee's office should be published by Government so that they could serve as an authentic source material to students of history who may be interested in a study of the subject. Government were pleased to accept the recommendation and though the Committee was dissolved on 30th September 1956, the tenure of its office was extended up to 30th June 1957.

The first volume of the extracts is now being placed before the public. It covers the period from 1818 to 1885 and contains a whole section bearing on the events of 1857.

L-A H 225—*aa*

It will be seen from the extracts that even before the excitement of the happenings of 1857, there was in 1844 in Western India an organised agitation on a fairly big scale to ventilate public discontent against an increase in the Salt tax imposed by the East India Company's authorities.

The fact that as early as in 1853 an elaborate petition embodying suggestions about political reforms for the country should have been submitted to the British Parliament by an Association specially formed by responsible and respectable citizens of Bombay for the purpose of giving organized expression to public opinion on matters of national interest and importance, testifies to the high degree of political consciousness developed by the intelligentsia of those days in Western India. Similarly, Rango Bapujee's lengthy petition submitted on behalf of his master, the deposed Raja of Satara, to the British Parliament in 1853 is a very revealing document.

Though in connection with the Rebellion of 1857 there was no major upheaval in Bombay Presidency involving a prolonged or extensive struggle in which thousands of people actively participated, it is evident from the extracts that, significantly enough, there were in some places—for example Satara, Kolhapur, Baroda, Chota Udepur—conscious and organised attempts at overthrowing foreign rule.

Comments and articles bearing on the course of the administration and on the economic plight of the country published in contemporary newspapers whether in small district towns or in the bigger cities indicate the profound dissatisfaction felt by large sections of the population not only against particular actions of alien rulers but against the very degradation of being a conquered nation. The outspoken language of some of these comments will not fail to strike the reader.

It is particularly appropriate that this Volume which contains extracts pertaining, among other subjects, to the ' Mutiny ' of 1857 should be published on 10th May, the day on which the outbreak is believed to have vigorously started and which in 1957 is the day of the centenary of the great event.

Volume II of the series will cover the period from 1885 to 1920 and Volume III the period from 1920 to 1947.

M. R. PALANDE,
Executive Secretary.

1st May 1957.

A WORD ABOUT THE MATERIAL

There are a few salient points in the material presented in this first volume. Two documents included in it appear to be of great value, (1) Proclamation of Nanasaheb Peshwa (P. 253), (2) The letter supposed to have been written by one Venkateshwar to Raosaheb Peshwa (P. 242).

The first document is not found to have been published in any of the important books dealing with the subject of 1857 and perhaps it may not have been published at all. If so, it will have been brought to the notice of the scholars for the first time by its appearance in this volume. This proclamation shows Nanasaheb as having assumed the role of the Defender of Hindu Religion and his object to be the re-establishment of Hindu/Mohamedan Kingdoms. The other letter mentioned above, the period of which as given by Meer Shahamat Ali, the Native Assistant to Agent of Governor General, Central India, as between May and September 1861, is important, because if the statements made in it are found to be correct, they may challenge the accuracy of the date of Nanasaheb's death (24th September 1859) as reported by Nepal Government to the British Residency in Nepal and accepted by eminent authorities like V. K. Rajwade. It may, however, be pointed out that Meer Shahamat Ali's report also presents some discrepancies. All the same, the report as coming from a responsible officer on the spot has a value of its own.

The extracts on the All-India Editors' Conference (P. 384) at Calcutta (1878) and also the extract from the *Times of India* (P. 353) on the "Deadly National Rebellion—1857" are also significant.

The other important extracts are those which deal with Surat mass agitations. They show how bravely Surat masses fought against Government with weapons like mass demonstrations in which thirty thousand people had participated, social boycott of officials, hartals, etc., weapons which were employed in our National struggles after 1920. Surat seems to be the first city to organise such resistance in the first half of the last century. It is worth noting that the object of this resistance was the reduction of the enhanced Salt Duty. The question how Surat could do this, posed by the Rasta Goftar in 1878, still appears pertinent. Surat continued to resist on mass scale till 1878. Surat editors also, it seems, were the first in the

Presidency,, to be prosecuted and imprisoned for political agitation (1878). These points deserve special attention.

Material on 1857 shows the extent of the activities, South of the Narmada, where we are told, the people had not much stirred. The extracts tell their own story. The pertinent and important point brought to light by this material is the leadership of Rango Bapuji. This material shows that Rango Bapuji was the moving spirit and also the organiser of the activities in the Southern Maratha country. Major B. D. Basu (Story of Satara) did not think that Rango Bapuji could have taken part in the Rebellion of 1857. But now that is proved beyond doubt. In fact Kaye has suggested that Rango Bapuji and Azim Ullah Khan were amongst the inspirers of the Rebellion. The letters (Appendix) written by Raja Chimnajirao of Bhore show what part he himself is likely to have played and the complicity of the Maharaja (Satara ?) mentioned in the letter.

The newspaper comments will help to assess the notion held in those days by some prominent leaders that the British connection with India was a "Divine Dispensation". Some of the writers of these comments have asked the Government to leave "the country lock-stock-barrel". Even those who held this view were agreed regarding the advantages derived from British contact with this country. One of the early writers Bhaskar Pandurang Tarkhad (Bombay) wrote a series of articles (*Bombay Gazette*—1841) to show that the Indian villages were bled white by the economic policy of the British Rulers. He wrote that "they (the British) were no better than the Pendharies". Similarly the letters published by Sardar Gopal Hari Deshmukh *alias* Lokahitawadi deserve attention (*Prabhakar*, Anglo-Marathi Weekly, Bombay, published between 1848-50). Lokahitawadi had written that the English "will have to quit this country when the Indians become wise, and if they would not go willingly they would be driven out as it happened in America." These letters have not been included in this volume as they have been published earlier (Marathi books). The press comments show that the editors even in those days used to take quite a good interest in foreign policy and it is significant that their attitude generally was against imperialistic wars. The ideas of Ganesh Wasudeo Joshi *alias* Sarvajanik Kaka, one of the founders of the Sarvajanik Sabha of Poona, in a way resemble those of Gandhiji. He used to wear Khadar and had attended the Delhi Darbar (1877) in the same attire. He is said to have withdrawn from the defence of the famous revolutionary Phadke, as he did not agree with the policy of the defence. He practised and propagated views against untouchability. He wrote, it is stated (*Adhunik Bharat* by Acharya Javadekar), to Bombay Government

not to send armies against Afghanistan (1877-78) and also offered his services to go to that country for negotiations.

Thus these extracts help to show the part played by the leaders of this presidency. They also show the pace and direction of the progress of freedom thought.

I take this opportunity to express my gratitude and thanks to M. M. D. V. Potdar, Prof. N. R. Phatak, Shri V. S. Bendre and Shri Maganbhai Desai for the valuable co-operation and assistance, they gave us. They also had given valuable books and manuscripts for the use of this office. I must make special mention of the help and guidance Prof. M. R. Palande gave us in our day to day work. I also thank my colleague Shri Gopalrao Kulkarni (Bombay Office) and the other colleagues in the regional offices, Sarvashri D. K. Gosavi, P. P. Gokhale, D. N. Shikhare (Maharashtra), P. G. Deshpande, H. P. Shah, V. J. Akkad (Gujarat) and Shri Govardhan Rao (Karnatak). The services of the other collaborators, who worked on part time basis in Bombay, Baroda and Dharwar, have been valuable.

H. M. JOSHI,
Research Officer.

Bombay, 1st May 1957.

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I

MASS AGITATION

MASS AGITATION AGAINST INCREASE IN SALT DUTY AT SURAT—1844

[Salt duty was raised from As. 8 to Re. 1 per maund in the Bombay Presidency in the year 1844. This caused considerable excitement among the poorer classes. They organised demonstrations to submit a petition to express their 'deep resentment'. These demonstrations and hartals continued from the 29th to the 31st of August.

It was estimated that more than thirty thousand people took part. On the 30th of August, 'The crowds were exceedingly tumultous, covering the whole esplanade to the edge of the ditch of the Fort'.

The people in general were 'not disposed to commit violence' 'The object of the tumult was to show, in as marked a manner as possible, how strong feelings existed.' One Chaprasi was wounded while preventing the crowds from entering the Adaluts. The feeling of discontent 'was universal, from the lowest to the highest' and 'the city appeared to be on the verge of an insurrection,' Troops were employed to maintain peace.

The demonstrators were not prepared to listen to any one. They wanted the magistrate to receive their petition and assure them that the enhanced salt duty would not be enforced. The Agent consulted Hindu, Muslim and Parsi religious heads and requested them to persuade their followers to desist from the agitation. But they could do very little.

For three days the agitation continued unabated. 'No disposition', however, 'on the part of the people was evinced to commit excesses'. High officials, after discussions and negotiations were 'convinced of the absolute necessity of the yielding to the wishes of the people.' This course was accordingly resorted to. 'Thousands of people acclaimed the result with great acclamations' and 'in less than one hour the shops were opened and everything was going on as usual'.

After getting report from Surat that the enhancement in the salt duty was temporarily suspended by the magistrate, the Government of Bombay issued a proclamation 'abolishing certain Town Duties' and ordered the Agent to enforce the enhanced duty on salt.

'To quell any further disaffection' the Government 'despatched one Company of European artillery with a battery and a wing of the Fifth Regiment Native Infantry'.

The 'Bombay Times' supported the policy of the Bombay Government, but the 'Bombay Courier' supported that of the Magistrate.]

SHARIF SHAIK'S LETTER

Translation of a letter from Sharif Shaik in charge of the tomb of Syed Na Ali Aidroos to Sir Robert K. Arbuthnot Baronet, Agent for the Hon. the Governor at Surat, dated 5th Shaban 1260 Hijree on 30th August 1844 (page 68, P. D., Vol. 1625 of 1844-45) :—

"After Compliments,

In the hopes of seeing you hereafter, I beg now to represent that since this morning, the whole men of the city have united and assembled at my house and urged me to proceed with them to the Sirdar Saheb (the Agent for the Honourable the Governor). But I have since morning till this time told them to have great patience and be quiet and to make no disturbance or tumult to keep open the bazar and that those who have anything to say, should petition on the subject and agree to whatever a beneficent Government may determine, but in no way will they be satisfied. At length they have agreed to be satisfied in this manner : the Government to order the public crier proclaim in the city that an answer will be given to their petition in a few days and for the present until a final answer be given, that all the Ryots shall remain in their own houses and be busied about their own affairs and keep open the bazars. Then the people being without care will go to their houses and busy themselves in their own affairs and will keep open the bazars. My hope therefore, is that the beneficent Saheb for the purpose of quieting the minds of the people will order the public crier to go through the city and proclaim for their satisfaction to sell it (i.e. that salt) at the price at which it was formerly sold, after which the people will all be pleased and go to their houses and keep the bazars open."

(True Translation)

AGENT REQUESTS THE SHAIK TO INTERVENE

Translation of a letter from the Agent for the Hon. the Governor at Surat to Sharif Shaik in charge of the tomb of Syed Na Ali Aidroos, dated 30th August 1844 (page 70) :—

"After Compliments,

I beg to state that I have received your letter of the 15th Shaban 1260 and understood its contents. I am much concerned to hear that the Ryots are troubled. Whatever is in my power I am ready to do, but I imagine if the intentions of Government be explained to the people, they will be satisfied. I therefore write to inform you that Government intend to abolish the Mokals and duties on the imports and exports of the city and that I have hopes the order will be received in a few days. The Ryots will then benefit much by this arrangement and Government will lose, on which account a trifling increase has been added to the excise on salt, to make up in a small degree for the loss by the other arrangement. The excise on salt also will not press heavily on each Ryot, since salt is not an article like grain which is consumed in larger quantities. I beg therefore you will have the kindness to take the trouble to explain this to them and desire the people to go to their houses and be busied about their own affairs which will afford me much pleasure. After you have explained this to them if they desire to represent the matter to Government you can tell them to present a Petition to me which I shall forward to the Honourable the Governor at Bombay and afterwards inform them what answer I shall receive."

(*True Translation*)

MOOLAH SAHEB'S LETTER

Translation of a letter from Najmoodeen Bin Zenooldeen Moolah of the Borahs, to the Agent for the Honourable the Governor at Surat, dated 31st August 1844 (page 72) :—

After Compliments,

In the way of friendship I beg to inform you that I have received your letter with much pleasure and understood its contents. What you say is very true that the profit of Government by the new Act regarding salt will be very trifling while

the loss by the abolition of the Mokals and duties on the exports and imports of Surat will be great. Notwithstanding the Ryots are displeased because the benefits obtained by abolition of the duties will affect few persons, while if the act relative to the salt excise be introduced the whole of the poor Ryots will suffer, wherefore it would be well if the Sircar would not grieve or cause displeasure to the people who live under their shade for a little advantage. I am not sorry to be able to explain to my people the Borahs according to what you have written but as they also belong to the people they cannot go about their own business till the people are satisfied and they are thinking about this thing in every way.

(True Translation)

GOVERNOR'S AGENT'S REPORT

Extract from letter No. 237 of 1844, dated 3rd September 1844, from the Agent, for the Hon. Governor to the Secretary to Government of Bombay, Political Department (page 37) :—

Sir,

Having been called upon to take part in the disturbances which occurred in Surat on the 29th, 30th and 31st of August 1844, I have the honour to report the circumstances which gave rise to my doing so, and the result of my observations and interference.

2. The immediate cause of the disturbances was the great and sudden rise in the price of salt consequent on the bringing into effect the provisions of the new salt act from the 1st of September. This became publicly felt, first about the 27th and immediately gave rise to a considerable degree of excitement among the poorer classes of the communities who reside in parras which gradually increased throughout the 28th and by the 29th had attained to such a height, that the whole of the Hindoo population having taken part in the question, assembled in front of the houses of the most influential sowcars and other inhabitants of the town and by breaking their windows and other demonstrations of violence obliged some of them to accompany the mob to the Adalut—intending to petition the Session Judge who is Magistrate of the town. At the same time the whole of the shops were closed.

3. On their arrival at the Adalut the Police Sepoys on duty appear to have become alarmed at seeing the immense crowd of persons assembled outside and after admitting the Shetia and another Sawkar of the name of Bhunsallee closed the gates of the premises and endeavoured to keep off the crowd by force, on which the people became exasperated and commenced an attack on them, with the view of forcing admission by breaking down the gate, pelting the Police with tiles, which they obtained from the neighbouring outhouses, and endeavouring to effect an entrance into the upper story of the Adalut by climbing over the roof of a tiled varandah in which they were strongly resisted by the Police and here it was the chief fight took place.

4. The Acting Sessions Judge having made his appearance managed by means of the Police at his command to apprehend about 20 persons of the most forward who were immediately sent to the Jail as a place of safety. The rest of the mob was then obliged to fall back to a distance of 150 paces in front of the gate where I first joined Mr. Remington in consequence of his having written to me for a party of the Surat Sibandies to go to his assistance.

5. As the crowd at this time had ceased offering violence to the Police it was proposed, we should return to the Adalut and have a conference with the Shetia and the other Sawkar above mentioned who had obtained admittance into the Adalut when the crowd first assembled. We did so accordingly and as these persons said they were willing to endeavour to persuade the mob to disperse quitely, we proceeded with them to the spot, where the people were still standing, prevented by the Police from advancing to the Adalut. We commenced parleying with the foremost of the crowd endeavouring to persuade them to go home, but it was impossible to be heard from the noise and clamour that occurred. We therefore, adjourned to neighbouring house called the Commodore's Bungalow at the entrance to the Bazar, from the window of which some of the native officers of Government as well as the Sawkars addressed the people with the view to persuade them to return home peaceably but all apparently without effect. They showed no disposition to commit violence, but stood clamourously, vociferating for a return to the Mamul Mafak, the old custom, without which, they said, they would not be satisfied.

6. The military by this time had arrived together with a strong party of the Surat Sibandies, and it was then determined to issue a proclamation in writing warning them, if they did not disperse

by 5 O'clock (it was then about 4) they should be attacked by the troops and driven away by force. The Shetia and the Sawkar, who were in the room with us, on hearing this took alarm, and said as long as they remained they were afraid the crowd would not leave and asked permission to go, saying they would endeavour to persuade the people to accompany them. These persons accordingly took their departure, and the principal part of the mob followed. A good many remained behind standing about, but as they showed no disposition to do mischief, and were gradually leaving the place, it was not considered adviseable to resort to any measures to force them away beyond keeping the Troops and Police in readiness to act in case of necessity. Between 5 and 6 they had entirely dispersed and soon afterwards Mrs. Jones and I rode through the Town without meeting any further indication of an intention to reassemble. The shops, however, were all closed, the people being congregated in small clusters in the different streets and several times the cry of " Gunno Zooloom " (much oppression) expressed in a manner indicating the deep seated feeling of resentment, was set up, as we passed.

7. The mob having been thus dispersed and the disturbance appearing to be confined chiefly to the Hindus and a few Parsis of indifferent looking character, no further apprehensions were entertained, and excepting that some precautionary measures were adopted by the Session Judge, nothing unusual occurred through the night.

8. Early on the morning of the following day the 30th August, it was reported that the people were again assembling in large bodies at the Boorhanpoore Bhagul, the largest Bazar in Surat. A rumour was also prevalent and universally believed that besides the increased excise on salt, Government had imposed a new cess upon firewood, which would affect the burning of their dead, as well as on other necessaries of life, such as ghee, oil and that a deeper feeling of disaffection had been engendered thereby than by the increase in the price of salt. As soon as this was understood, a proclamation was issued by the Session Judge explaining that instead of Government wishing further to assess the necessaries of life it had the intention of taking off the town duties and the tax on salt was simply for the purpose of making good the revenue in another shape which would be thus relinquished.

9. Mr. Remington and I then thought it adviseable to proceed to the Boorhanpoore Bhagul where it was reported immense crowds had assembled who were disposed to resort to violence

and had plundered several shops which had been opened in the morning, with a strong Police party with the view of seeing the real state of matters and if necessary, of giving confidence to the well disposed shop-keepers and others, by preventing the mob interfering with them in opening their shops should they feel disposed to do so.

10. In our progress through the town we found almost all the shops closed, the people in a great state of excitement, but as far as we could judge not disposed to assemble in large bodies and we had therefore reason to hope as soon as the contents of the proclamation was known that this feeling would pass off and they would return to their ordinary business. Some excesses committed by a part of the Police in our progress through the town had also apparently turned the attention of the people from the salt question to a loud clamour for redress on this account, which of course they were informed, would be granted if it appeared the Police had abused their authority.

11. Matters having been thus settled, and as it would appear, no disposition evinced to commit excesses, although the shops were still kept shut, the Sessions Judge returned home leaving the Kotwal with parties of Police to protect the shop keepers in case of an attack upon them and Mr. Jones and Pelly soon after followed.

12. Till this time the real character of the disturbances was not understood. They were generally supposed to be occasioned by the lowest classes of the Hindus, who as they did not seem disposed to harm or resort to violence it was hoped if they were not roused by too much interference on the part of the Police would soon get over their feeling of discontent and return to their ordinary occupations. It is true we could not help observing that there was disinclination on the part of the sawkars and other influential persons to come forward and aid the authorities by their presence in the measures they might adopt, as is usual in ordinary rioting and that the shops even in parts of the town where there was no assemblage of the people, were kept shut.

13. Circumstances however soon transpired which gave rising to the belief that the disturbances were of a more serious nature, not only confined to one class of persons but that the feeling of discontent was universal from the highest to the lowest and that instead of a common riot we were on the verge of an insurrection.

16. About this time also the rumors became prevalent in the town that the Hindu population with some Mussulman Bohras were again assembling before the Adalut and on the esplanade in front of the castle wherein a strong body of military had been placed early in the day as a precautionary measure. These were at once confirmed by my receiving a note from the Session Judge asking me to send a party of Police. I lost no time in doing so.

17. The crowd in front of the Adalut was soon dispersed by the Surat Sibandies when it fell back towards the castle and joined the multitudes assembled there, which had by this time become exceedingly tumultuous covering the whole esplanade to the edge of the ditch of the fort, pelting the European officers who were on the ramparts with bricks, tiles, etc., and annoying in the same way every European passing in that direction or who had come to see what was going on. The Reverend Mr. Clarkson was actually obliged to take shelter in the castle to escape from the violence of the mob and several officers who had gone outside from the castle to endeavour to prevent the people from spiking the guns, which are placed in battery on the esplanade for the purpose of firing salutes, were obliged to return to save themselves from being ill treated. Captain Renny who persisted in remaining was several times struck with missiles on different parts of his body.

18. A strong party of the Surat Sibandies soon afterwards arrived on the esplanade and managed to keep the space in front of the castle clear till the Magistrate appeared when these authorities immediately rode among the people and endeavoured to get them to retire quietly. But they persisted in remaining, showing however, less disposition to violence than before. Another military party under Major Cook having by this time arrived, it was then determined to clear the whole space in front of the castle including the Choke Bazar in front of the Custom House by force. The troops accordingly were arranged for this purpose and without difficulty drove back the crowd into the neighbouring streets from which they commenced pelting the sepoys with whatever they could lay their hands on but without doing much mischief. Lieutenant Anderton in leading on one party got a blow on the head which made the blood flow pretty freely and some of the Police sepoys were hit in the same way ; but this was all the damage done.

19. The rumours of a general rising of the whole population and the cry every where in the streets of "we will kill and be killed", made it necessary however to be on the alert during the

night, in case of an attack or as we were more apprehensive lest the town should be plundered. The Sebundies therefore took up a position in front of the castle while the military bivouacked inside where Mr. Remington also remained during the night.

20. I have now to return to that part of my narrative where I started that the Eukshey had requested to be allowed to deliver in person my reply to the letter of Suyed Aidroop. He and the Duftardar accordingly as before proceeded with it to the residence of that individual. I also thought it advisable to write to the Moolah of the Bohras, as this class of persons had been observed taking a more active part in the disturbances than before, to request he would endeavour to keep his followers in check, explaining to him as I had done to Suyed Aidroop, the measures, which Government proposed to adopt in regard to the Town duties as a set off to the imposition of an increased salt tax, also to the Gosaeejee Maharaj who is the religious head of the Hindu population to request his good offices in the same way since his temple seemed to be the rally point of this class of persons. Reports at the same time were so constantly being brought to my office of the increasingly excited state of all classes, leaving little doubt in my mind that a rising of the people would take place if steps were not promptly taken to pacify them. I therefore further resolved on making another attempt to induce the most influential persons of the town to assemble early the next day at my office as Agent by sending them a circular message to that effect in the hopes that although one or two might be afraid to appear to side with Government against the people, for that seemed to be feeling in their mind, they would not object to do so if called together as a Body.

I accordingly did this and in the course of the evening having received an intimation from Suyed Aidroop that he had pacified his followers for the present as well as from the Moolah of the Bohras and the Gosaeejee Maharaj he felt pretty confident towards midnight that there would be no further outbreak that night. I had no reason, however to believe that matters were settling down. On the contrary it had become quite evident that if we persisted in not yielding to the cry of Mamool Mafak which had become their watch word, we must be prepared to repel the insurgents for this term was now more applicable to them than simple Rioters on a mob, and arrangements were accordingly made for this purpose by bringing a Gun into the castle during the night where strange to say nothing of the kind was in existence and the Military and Police allowed a good nightly rest, which after having been harrassed a good deal during the two preceding days they stood in need of.

25. Thousands of people were assembled outside the office to hear the result of the meeting and as soon as it was known they set up a loud shout of approbation and immediately departed to their homes. In less than an hour it was reported that the shops were all open and everything going on as usual.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
R. V. ARBUTHNOT,
A. G.

GOVERNOR'S REPLY

Copy of letter No. 724 of 7th September 1844, from the Government of Bombay to the Agent for the Honourable the Governor at Surat. (page 78) :—

Secret Department.

To

SIR ROBERT ARBUTHNOT, BART.,
Agent for the Honourable the Governor at Surat.

Sir,

1. I am directed by the Honourable the Governor in Council to acknowledge the receipt, of your letter dated the 3rd instant, No. 237, reporting that between the 29th and 31st ultimo a general outbreak approaching to open insurrection had taken place of the Hindu and Mahomedan population of Surat, in consequence of the passing of Act XVI of 1844, increasing the excise and import duties upon salt within the Territories subject to Bombay and that you have found it entirely out of your power to allay the popular excitement without suspending, during a reference to Government, the provisions of the above act, and that the other European civil authorities at Surat having concerted with you in the propriety of this measure being adopted, you had been induced to issue a proclamation to that effect.

2. In reply, I am desired to inform you that under all the circumstances reported in your letter, and in consideration of the difficulties which presented themselves in deciding how far it would be proper to exercise forbearance, the Governor in council is disposed to

concur in the expediency of the course which, in concert with the other European Civil authorities at Surat, you deemed it advisable to adopt.

3. Having to the above extent communicated the approval of Government of the proceedings which under the exigency of the case you adopted, I am desired to transmit for your information, with instructions that you will on receipt of this letter give general publicity thereto, fifty printed copies of a proclamation in the English, Persian, Gujerattee, Hindoostanee and Mahratta languages, which has this day been issued by this Government, abolishing (subject to the confirmation of the Government of India) from this date within the limits of the Bombay Presidency, all Town duties, Mokauts, all Taxes upon trades and professions commonly designated as "Kussub Veeras or Mohturfa", also all taxes which it has hitherto been customary to levy on village officers and citizens, distinguished under the head of "Bullottee" Taxes.

4. I am desired to request that you will be pleased, on receipt of this communication, fully to explain to the leading members of the Native Community at Surat, the purport of the above proclamation, and at once to carry its provisions into effect.

5. The Governor in Council at the same time directs that you will issue a public notice to the effect, that the provisions of act No. XVI of 1844, which you had temporarily suspended, have again come into effect from the promulgation of the above proclamation and that you have been furnished with positive instructions from Government, under no circumstances to defer the operation of this Act.

6. In order to enable you to quell any further disaffection which may be evinced on its becoming known that you have received orders to enforce the provisions of the above act, one company of European artillery with a Battery, and a wing of the 5th Regiment Native Infantry this day proceed from Bombay to Surat in steamers as a reinforcement to the troops at the latter station and Government trust that with this increased force you will be enabled to maintain the public tranquillity.

7. The Governor in Council requests that you will afford the military authorities every assistance in your power in obtaining comfortable accommodation for the troops forming this re-inforcement on their arrival at Surat, and especially for the European portion."

TOWN DUTIES ABOLISHED

Letter from the Agent for the Hon. the Governor at Surat, **No. 1** of 1844, dated 12th September 1844 to E. H. Townsend, Esquire, Secretary to Government of Bombay. (page 165) : —

Secret Department

Dated 12th September 1844.

Sir,

With reference to the instructions of Government conveyed in your letter, dated 7th instant, I have the honour to inform you that immediately on the receipt thereof, in conjunction with the local magistrate Mr. Remington, I issued a proclamation to the effect that the Mookats and other Town duties, etc. had been taken off with the view of affording relief to the Ryots and that the new Salt Act would be enforced from the same date.

2. I am happy to report that no feeling of disaffection has up to this time manifested itself even amongst the lowest classes of the people in consequence of this measure and I trust no further demonstration of the kind will be made.

3. The leading members of the native Community as well as the Patells of the Pooras who may be described officially as the heads of the people and with whom I have no doubt the late riots had their origin, have all expressed their anxiety to prevent further disturbances partly satisfied by the abolition of the Town duties and partly intimidated by the timely arrival of the Military force from Bombay especially the European part of it, which I am disposed to think has had an excellent effect in making the people understand that Government were in earnest in their determination to enforce the Salt Act and that it was their wisest plan at once to acquiesce quietly in the turn that affairs had taken.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,

W. Arbuthnot,
A. G.

Letter No. 2 of 1844 from the Agent for the Governor at Surat dated 14th September 1844 to E. H. Townsend, Esquire, Secretary to Government, Bombay (page 173).

Secret Department

Sir,

In continuation of my report of the 12th instant I have the honour to inform you that I had no reason to believe there will be any further demonstration of public feeling as regards the reimposition of the salt tax. The troops from Bombay may therefore be withdrawn as soon as Government shall be pleased to make arrangements for this purpose. At the same time as the Town of Surat is under the authority of the Sessions Judge it may be advisable to receive his report before carrying this measure into effect.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Yours most obedient servant.

W. Arbuthnot,
A. G.

The following Marathi extract from the minutes of a meeting of "Manav Dharma Sabha" describes the incident as under (*vide* "R. B. Dadoba Pandurang" By A. K. Priyolkar—Page 378) :—

"इ. स. १८४४ च्या आगष्ट महिन्यांत २९ गुरुवार रोजीं सुरतेमध्यें मिठाच्या कराविरुद्ध मोठा दंगा झाला. तीस हजार हिंदु लोक जमा होऊन त्यांनीं शहरांतील दुकानें बंद करविली. मोठमोठ्या लोकांच्या घरीं जाऊन त्यांना आग्रह करून आपल्या बरोबर घतलें व कोर्टामध्यें फिर्याद गुदरली. यावेळीं शिपाई लोकांबरोबर त्यांची मारामारी होऊन त्यामध्यें पुष्कळ शिपायांना इजा झाली. रयतेपैकींहि पुष्कळ लोकांना मार बसला. त्या दिवशीं रात्र पडल्यावर सगळे लोक आपआपल्या घरीं गेले. दुसऱ्या दिवशीं पण अशीच गडबड उडाली. त्यामध्यें मुसलमानहि पण सामील झाले होते. या सर्व लोकांनीं किल्ल्यावर दगड फेंकण्यास सुरवात केली. त्यावरून आज मोठीच गडबड आहे, असें सरकारच्या लक्षांत आलें व रात्रीं सगळ्या इंग्रजांनीं किल्ल्याचा आश्रय केला. तिसऱ्या दिवशींहि लोकांनीं अशीच दंगल माजविली. त्यावेळीं स्थानिक एजंट-गव्हर्नर व जज्ज या दोघांनीं शहरांतील कित्येक प्रमुख मंडळी मिळवून असें ठरविलें कीं बडचा सरकारला याविषयीं लिहावें व तिकडून उत्तर येईपर्यंत मीठ पूर्वी ज्याप्रमाणें विकलें जात असें त्याचप्रमाणें विकावें. हा निर्णय सरकारकडून जाहिराती लाऊन व थाळी पिटून शहरांत सर्वांना कळविण्यांत आला, व शेवटीं एकदांची ही हुल्लड शांत झाली.

NEWSPAPER REPORTS AND COMMENTS

The news of this salt-riot has been extensively published by the "Bombay Times and Journal of Commerce" of 4th and 7th September 1844 and also by the "Bombay Courier" of September 3rd, 6th, 10th and 17th.

The substance of the news is as follows:—

"On Thursday the 29th ultimo about 3 p.m. nearly the whole of the inhabitants of the city having collected together proceeded to the Adawalat to represent to the judge, the misery and hardship that was entailed on themselves and families, by the promulgation of the unjust and inequitus New Act imposing a double duty on salt. On their arrival some of the more exasperated of the mob began to pelt stones etc., and smashed several of the windows of the judge residences and were proceeded to do other damage, when intimation was sent to the commandent; an affray commenced on the military arriving at the Adawalat in which an old woman was killed and several people severely bruised and wounded. After a considerable difficulty the mobs were driven back and dispersed to their houses. From the earliest hour this day as we have before mentioned, the shops were closed, and business was completely at a stand-still. On the morning of Friday mobs again collected in various parts of the city. The collector, his assistants, the commandent and Fort-Adjutant, with some other officers went through several of the principal streets and endeavoured to quiet the populace. A number of the chief inhabitants were sent for by the Collector and the Judge who requested them to exert themselves in restoring order among the people, showing that the Bombay Government would be written to on the subject.

REQUESTS FOR SUSPENSION

"Upon this the natives requested the Collector meanwhile to suspend the operation of the Act. He stated his inability to do so. They then retaliated by telling him that their exertion would be useless. In the afternoon of this day, the people congregated again and became riotous On the Castle Green, Captain Rennie, of the 19th N.I. was pelted with stones and filth, and some other Europeans were also pelted with bricks and other missiles. The military were then ordered to fix bayonets and charge which caused the mob to give way; but immediately the Sepoys retired, they again collected in large number. In the evening the Collector, Sir Keith Arbuthnot again appeared, accompanied by most of the

English residents at Surat, and told the populace that he would give them five minutes to return to their houses and if they did not disperse at that time he could order ball-catridges to be fired. This had the desired effect and city was in a tranquil state during the night." (*Bombay Times*, 7th September, 1844, page 578).

The "Times" further states "Sir Keith, Collector, had suspended the Salt Act, finding that the Mahomedan portion of the populace were about to join riotous mob."

The Collector also declared (7th September) that Town duties and other cesses would be abolished.

While putting this Government offer of reduction in duties to ridicule, the "Bombay Courier" in its comments had shown that the duties so reduced amounted to Rupees one lakh only while the salt tax amounted to Rs. 22 lakhs.

APPEAL TO SUSPEND THE ACT

The citizens of Bombay at that time had made a petition to the Governor of Bombay, on 5th of September, in which they had stated, "We feel assured that Government would never consider it prudent or just to oppress a country, already beggared by over taxation and other causes which are foreign to the subject of this petition by establishing new fees and impositions on this article which forms the common necessary of life. In conclusion we beg, most respectfully, that your Excellency in Council will be graciously pleased to recommend our case strongly to the Legislative Council of India and do your utmost to obtain the abolition of this most obnoxious additional impost." 7th September.

TAX REDUCED

The notification of Government of India (14th September) declared that the salt tax was reduced from Re. 1 to As. 12.

TAXATION FOR PROFITEERING

While commenting and protesting against this heavy taxation the "Courier" condemns the policy of Company officials in the following words :

"The tax will be forced at the point of the bayonet, in order to enrich holders of India stock, instead of reducing the amount of

dividend, which aggrandizing policy aimed to augment but was miserable defeat—" Courier, 10th September ".

LEGALITY OF ACTION

Regarding temporary suspension of the salt duty made by the Collector on the request of the local leaders the ' Times ' very strongly objected to the action of the Collector and stated " its thorough illegality is undeniable ".

COLLECTOR COULD NOT CARRY OUT GOVERNMENT ORDERS

" But early next morning the Mob had congregated in greater number, and Sir Robert Keith Arbuthnot plainly saw that he could not carry out the orders of his Government without a great sacrifice of human life, and rather than have to answer, not only in this world but in the next for being the immediate cause of the destruction of numbers of human beings, he in our opinion most wisely chose, other alternative and by the temporary suspension of the Act restored good order and tranquillity. Was this, we ask, acting thoroughly " illegally " ? In the name of all that is just that is righteous, is a man when in power, who finds himself pleased to carry out a measure, in effecting which a large loss of the life is to occur, not morally justified in suspending such a measure ? "

(*The Bombay Courier*—13th September 1844).

MASS AGITATION AGAINST WEIGHTS AND MEASURES—1848

[In Surat another occasion of mass agitation arose when the Government decided to introduce Bengal Standard Weights and Measures in April 1848. Surat citizens, decided to resist this measure also. They collected together and organized resistance.]

GOVERNMENT ABANDONS THE MEASURE

Mr. Ollivant, Acting Collector and Magistrate, Surat, refers to this incident in his Letter No. 179 of 1878, page 135, J. D. Vol. 132 of 1878. He states :

In 1848 an attempt was made to introduce Bengal Standard Weights and Measures into Surat. The people showed their opposition to this measure by closing their shops for several days, and upon a deputation going to the Collector, he agreed to take no steps in the matter until they had an opportunity of representing their case to Government. On hearing how unpopular the change was Government decided that the attempt should be abandoned. No actual disturbance occurred on that occasion."

BOYCOTT OF GOVERNMENT SERVANTS

This news was prominently published by Bombay papers. The 'Bombay Courier' reports:—

"In consequence of the Magistrate's order to introduce the 'New Indian Weights and Measures' into the city from the 1st instant, the shop keepers of every description have closed their shops from the morning of the 1st and the 'Mahajun', or the heads of every caste appeared to have been issuing notices, not to sell or give anything to the Government servants or to work for them till the matter is settled, i.e., until the Sirkar will consent to let the old weights continue. The shops are still closed. When the poor classes of people were much in want of grain, etc., the Magistrate got the grains and other things from the neighbouring districts, and had them sold at a certain police stations. On seeing that the people were purchasing themselves articles the 'Mahajun' sent grains in carts, to distribute it gratis to the poor. The ryots are assembling

in crowds every afternoon. Some of them have affixed proclamations appraising the Sirkar that they had subscribed Rs. 50,000 to contend at Law as far as England and 5000 signatures have been obtained to petition praying for the cancelling of the order about the New Weight. The Kotwal, the Magistrate and other officials are very busy in keeping peace up to the moment; the native inhabitants have not come to their senses although most of them are put to much inconvenience; there is a talk here that the authorities have applied for some European troops from Bombay."

This resistance continued for about a week. On the 5th of April a deputation followed by a large number of inhabitants of the city waited on the magistrate and asked him to allow them time to send their petition to Government, observing that after receiving Government's answer, he might do what he thought proper regarding the introduction of the New Indian Weights and Measures. The Magistrate granted the request and all the shops were immediately opened and the city was restored to the same state as it was on the 31st March. The Government ultimately decided to abandon the New Weights and Measures proposal.

RESISTANCE TO INCOME-TAX IN SURAT

After the resistance movements of 1844 and 1848, Surat again resorted to mass Resistance in 1860. The following has been summarised from Government J. D. Vol. 53 of 1860 :—

SURAT RIOT (29TH NOVEMBER 1860)

The Chief Secretary Mr. Anderson received a telegram from the Magistrate of Surat on 29th November 1860, to inform of "a slight disturbance" that took place in the morning of that date. Some persons started shutting their shops but they were immediately arrested. (Page 98—JD 53—1860).

The trouble started in Boorahanpoore Bhagol where the residents of that part collected in large numbers declaring that they would not fill in their forms and that they would close their shops until the Income-tax was repealed. The Police, Horse and Foot, were brought to the spot. The bazar was in a very excited state, full of crowd, more than two thousand persons. Those who were closing their shops were arrested, and were taken to the Magistrate's office. The crowd was ordered to be dispersed, but it disobeyed and continued to be there. It was therefore charged with mounted Police and compelled to be dispersed. In less than half an hour the streets were cleared off the crowd, without any resistance from rioters. In other parts of the city, there were some reports of resistance, but the least resistance was offered to the Police. The persons under arrest were charged under section 200 of Act 32 of 1860. Of those 30 persons five had been acquitted, one was fined Rs. 50 and the remaining twenty-four were convicted and sentenced to six months imprisonment with hard labour. (Page 102 to 104, 672/1860 J. D. 53 of 1860).

NEWSPAPER REPORTS

Some comments of the Bombay Press on this occurrence are given below :—

1. "On the 29th November 1860, merchants decided to oppose the introduction of income tax which resulted in a slight disturbance in the city. People numbering about 3,000 collected near the Central Locality, called Burhanpur Bhagole and

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declared that they would not fill in the income-tax forms, and that they would close their shops until income-tax was repealed. The district magistrate and the police superintendent with a body of mounted police arrived on the spot and the crowd dispersed without requiring any exercise of force". (*Bombay Gazette*).

2. *Bombay Gazette*—3rd December, 1860 reports : "Surat has endeavoured on the examples set by Poona and Bombay. On Thursday morning last, between nine and ten O'clock, as we are informed by private letters a mob of three or four thousand people assembled in one quarter of the city, declaring with much clamour that they would not pay the Income-tax, but would shut up their shops and suspend all business, till the Act imposing the Tax was repealed. They then began to close their shops and send messages to other part of the city for aid and co-operation.

Word was brought to the Magistrate, Mr. Ravenscorft of these illegal proceedings, and he, accompanied by Captain Hodgson, Superintendent of Police and a large body of police, foot and mounted, immediately repaired to the spot and in a very few minutes the rioters were dispersed, without any great violence having been used. Thirty of the ringleaders were taken prisoners, placed in irons, which the police had been ordered to bring with them so that they might be handy for the occasion, and forthwith conveyed to prison.

The same day all these men were brought up before Mr. Ravenscroft and tried for rioting. Five were acquitted for want of evidence, the remaining twenty-five were convicted and sentenced to six months' imprisonment with hard labour."

"A POPULAR REBELLION"

3. The *Bombay Gazette* comments in its editorial "It is fortunate that, since there was to be a disturbance, it occurred in a city where the Government is represented by a Magistrate of Mr. Ravenscroft's energy and decision. 'Big dat qui cito dat' appears to be the magistrate's motto ; and the whole presidency we might say the whole of India, owes him a debt of gratitude for summarily checking disaffection, which, had it been allowed much longer to range at will through the country, would inevitably have resulted in a popular rebellion. Our Surat correspondents assure us that, since the leading conspirators were

visited with prompt and signal punishment, the city has been perfectly quiet. The Income-tax returns, when the steamer left two days ago, were coming in rapidly, all the respectable dealers had set their faces against further opposition, and the whole affair was considered to be settled. Doubtless we may attribute to the receipt by telegraph of intelligence concerning the end of Surat disturbance, the sudden eagerness of the Bombay malcontents to fill in the returns."

"SURAT SUPPRESSION MORE WORTHY THAN 1857 SUCCESS"—*BOMBAY TIMES*

4. The Bombay Times writes: "For our part we believe conciliation and fair words to be of no use with people who have got the notion in their heads that they can frighten the Government into doing whatever they wish. Had we had a Ravenscroft at Poona when the amiable native inhabitants of that delightful city were deliberating, in riotous meeting assembled, whether or no they should burn the Collector's Assistant, in addition to tearing up their Income tax papers, we should have heard no more of popular indignation, popular rights etc., etc. But the weakness of our high civil servants has allowed affairs to go on from bad to worse, till they had very nearly come to such a pass that it would have required something more forcible than policemen's whips to maintain public order. Luckily, there was a man at Surat fit for this work. Our Civil servants are often placed in situations, demanding the exercise of great courage and generalship, and they are sometimes equal to the occasion; but even in the trying year 1857, there was no act of firmness and wisdom more worthy to be recorded than this supression of popular disaffection at Surat.

ARE WE OR ARE WE NOT MASTERS OF THIS COUNTRY?

"In truth the only way to deal with these natives who resist the tax is to treat them as Sir Huge Rose treated the 5th Europeans. The simple question at issue is, are we, or are we not masters of the Country? The foolish talk in the newspapers had made these people actually believe that the English Government will do anything to bring back the good will of the natives, and that, since the mutinies, the dread of another insurrection is always present to the minds of the rulers to prevent anything being accomplished that runs the risk of

unpopularity. It is full time that this absurdity was exploded. The natives must be made to feel, that, while the Government will invariably treat them with justice and even with kindness it will not suffer its decrees to be questioned or its demands to be slighted."

RESISTANCE TO INCOME TAX IN POONA

(SUMMARISED FROM J. D. VOL. 53 OF 1860)

On 14th November 1860, in the afternoon several wealthy "Sowcars" (money lenders) of the city went to assessment office. They were about 20 in number, headed by two prominent and respectable members of the class—Dayaram Atmaram and Sakharam Mansaram. They waited upon the assessors in their office at Bhudhawarwada, to know from them the explanation of certain headings in the forms supplied to them to furnish certain information.

The information, that the Sowcars were with the assessors, became known to the public and a crowd of about four to five thousand persons "collected outside the office, composed for the most part of the lowest classes of the people, but there were many also in the gathering upon whom forms had been served." (Pages 93-94 of J. D. Vol. 53, 1860, from special Assistant's Report to Mr. Davidson, the Collector.)

Since the Sowcars remained with the assessors for about three hours, the tax paying members of the crowd suspected that these leading Sowcars must have consented to give in their returns. The natural consequence was that they feared that they would be compelled to fill in their returns. In order to protest against those influentials of the tax paying class the persons of lesser influence started demonstrating and started openly tearing up the forms and throwing the pieces on the ground. The number of forms thus torn up must have been about four hundred. The persons who were with the assessors did not take any part in the demonstration. The special assistant to the Collector of Poona in his report on the subject expressed his satisfaction as to the behaviour of the Sowcars who were with the assessors and maintained that they were there simply to obtain information. In the same report he strongly blamed the police for their behaviour. He remarked "it appears to me that their conduct in permitting so large a crowd to assemble

for so many hours, and to openly express their feelings against the tax without interference is deserving of great censure." (Page 95, J. D. Vol. 53, 1860, para. 8).

BASSEIN (DISTRICT THANA) RESISTS INCOME TAX—1860

DEPUTY COLLECTOR CHASED AND DETAINED

[Bassein (District Thana), stood firmly against the imposition of the Income-tax (1860) and pleaded its case as to why the imposition of the tax was improper and when the Deputy Collector insisted for the payment and tried to arrest the leaders, confusion and conflict followed, resulting in a mild scuffle. The Deputy Collector, Mr. Hunter tried to escape from the scene, ran away by the back door, and reached the creek to catch the country craft to reach Thana. But the kolies and other agriculturists followed him up to the creek, jumped into water, and after stopping the country craft rushed into it and brought it back to the shore. They had practically detained the Deputy Collector but no harm was done to him. They made him sit and simply urged him to drop the collection of the tax. The Deputy Collector told the people that he had no authority to do so and implored the people to leave him to go back. In the meantime leaders rushed to the spot and relieved him. Afterwards a criminal case was filed in which two or three persons were convicted.]

The following account has been summarised from J. D. Vol. 53 of 1860 :—

On the 6th of December 1860, a special officer, Mr. Hunter came to Bassein in Thana collectorate to meet the assessor. He was informed there that about four thousand inhabitants had assembled, on the previous day, i.e., 5th of December 1860, before the Mamlatdar's office and numbers of them had thrown down their notices and forms. The Mamlatdar was immediately directed by Mr. Hunter to send to him about 20 persons whose names were then noted down while leading the demonstration.

The news reached the public and before those leaders could be present at the rest house where Mr. Hunter was putting up, the numbers of Kolies and others assembled before his residence. He found it impossible then to deal with the leaders and therefore resolved to address the whole gathering about 1,200 to 1,500

persons, half of whom were Kolies. They all sat quietly behind the leaders whom he had summoned. They gave him a patient hearing with possible attention, when he explained them the reasonableness and necessity of the Taxation, and their duties and liabilities under the Act. But when he started telling them in a warning tone the penalties for refusing to accept forms and for obstructing the officials to do their duty, there was a slight resistance. Meanwhile Mr. Hunter asked the leaders to receive the forms, which were received by a few ones. One Govardhan Gangadas refused to accept it. He was suggested by Mr. Hunter to accept it, in order to show others an example of worthy conduct, but he rather hesitated. This made the whole mob uneasy and restive. They rose from their seats. Mr. Hunter and the Mamlatdar tried to calm down the restive mob who backed their leader's refusal to accept the form. The furious mob was induced to return quietly to their homes. At this stage Gowardhan stepped forward and refused to leave the spot unless orders regarding his assessments were conveyed to him. It was a sort of bold challenge to the authority. Mr. Hunter ordered for his arrest, but the police sepoy showed his reluctance to do so. This provoked Mr. Hunter into catching hold of the defiant Govardhan's arm and putting him inside the Verandah of the Rest-House. Mr. Hunter was rather anxious to prove that in spite of the Policeman's declining to arrest the defiant leader, he himself could execute a decided step. But prestige of authority could not be maintained before the angry mob which pressed in the rest house with violent intentions. The Government officials rescued Mr. Hunter to take him to his boat. He himself also had requested the mob to reach the boat as he did not want to lose the tide. He was thus rescued from the Rest House, but while passing through the town's high road was assaulted by the furious crowd. Someone snatched from him his walking stick, others pelted stones at him and mobbed him completely by beating him with sticks. Not only that, when he entered his boat, they anchored it, pelted stones at it, and troubled him so for an hour or so. His Shirestedar could induce the mob of the illegal nature of their violent behaviour and thus he could escape from the danger. Mr. Hunter thought this violence to be a prearranged plot. (Pages 110, 111 and 113, J. D. 53 of 1860).

WHY THEY WERE AGAINST TAXATION

Sheth Gordhandas was the leader of the people whom the Deputy Collector Mr. Hunter tried to persuade to accept the notice for the income-tax. He refused to accept it. The following gives the

English version of an extract from the Marathi passage given below of a portion of the conversation that took place between Mr. Hunter and Sheth Gordhandas. When asked to explain why the tax was thought to be unjust, Seth Gordhandas said :

"A good deal of expenditure made by the Government is done improperly and excessively. That should be reduced. The salaries of European Officers are so fat that one-fourth of the salary of one single English officer is enough to cover the expenditure of the whole establishment of his office. In most of the other Departments, the same mismanagement is found. That should be stopped and the money saved by this should be utilized for this purpose. We poor residents of this country should not be taxed."

On this the Saheb replied 'the Government is trying to make economy as much as possible. You need not tell about it'.

On this Gordhandas Seth said, 'You only talk it, and publish it in newspapers. But such are not at all the intentions of the Government. To put in short, they (the Government) desire that we should be reduced to utter poverty. Whatever ornaments or brass vessels we have in our houses should go, and we should be finished as the Red Indians were annihilated in America. If you search the houses of the Ryots you will not find grains sufficient even for a one time meal. You have snatched away from us all our trade and industries. Death is confronting us due to starvation. With our hands tied down we have become helpless and have been reduced to utter poverty ; hence we should not be burdened with such a tax, and we shall not pay it.'

HE DISOBEYED THE ORDER

On this the Saheb said "This won't do ; you must accept the notice and must pay the tax as ordered in it".

Gordhandas Seth replied "we shall not accept it". On this the Saheb tried to put the notice in the hand of Goverdhandas Seth and said "if you do not accept it you will be charged with breaking the order".

To this Gordhandas Seth said "you have power in your hands. You can charge me with anything. I will never accept the notice".

GOVIND BABAJI JOSHI'S ACCOUNT

[Following is the graphic description given by Govind Babaji Joshi, in his book "Maze Prawasachi Hakkikat" or the "Narration of my travels" (Marathi, published in 1896). Shri Joshi travelled during the period between 1860 to 1885. He travelled about 2,500 miles in those days using all conveyances i.e. bullock cart, horse, boat and railway or walked on foot. He travelled for "seeing and knowing the people and also for addressing and organising them for social missions". He has described all that he saw in a vivid and lucid manner giving details about everything including names of important persons and the places he visited. The book which contains 655 pages was published by the Baroda State Press after Joshi joined the State service in 1896. An extract of the original Marathi narration is given here.]

गोविंद बाबाजी जोशीकृत "माझे प्रवासाची हकीकत" पान ४७ (रोजनिशी), प्रसिद्ध १८९६ बडोदा

सन १८५९ चे सुमारास सरकारनें जो इन्कम् टॅक्स नांवाचा कर हिंदुस्थानांतील रयतेवर प्रथम बसविला त्याची समजूत देण्याकरतां मे. हंटरसाहेब, त्यावेळचे वसई प्रांताचे असिस्टंट कलेक्टर वसईस आले होते, त्यांच्याशीं जी रयतेची धिंगामस्ती झाली त्याची हकीकत सन १८५७ सालीं श्रीमंत नानासाहेब पेशवे यांनीं दुसरा बाजीराव यांस नेमणूक चालत आल्याप्रमाणें आपल्यासही चालवावी म्हणून ईस्ट इंडिया कंपनीकडे अर्ज केला होता. परंतु इंग्रज ती मागणी कबूल करीना. सबब नानासाहेब आणि इंग्रज यांत जी हातघाई झाली, त्यानंतर पुढील सालीं लढाईत जो खर्च झाला तो भरून निघण्याकरतां रयतेवर इन्कम टॅक्सचा कर बसविला आहे, असे वसई गांवांत जाहीरनामे लावले होते व त्याचे वसूलबाकीची सर्व व्यवस्था वसई येथील त्यावेळचे मामलेदार काशिनाथ त्रिंबक लोंढे पुणेकर यांजकडे होती. मामलेदारांनीं नोटिशी तलाठीमार्फत घरोघर दिल्या, त्या रयत घेईना व त्या मामलेदार कचेरीपुढें परत पुष्कळांनीं आणून फेकून दिल्या. सबब वरील असिस्टंट कलेक्टरसाहेब रयतेची समजूत घालण्यांकरितां म्हणून ठाण्याहून मुद्दाम आले होते. तालुक्यांतील रयत मामलेदारांचे बोलावण्यावरून रहदारी बंगल्यापाशीं एकत्र झाली होती. सुमारें दोन हजारावर लोक जमले होते. त्यास साहेब बहादुर समजूत द्यावयास लागले. कर बसविण्याचे कारणांसह चांगले मुद्यानिशीं साहेबांनीं भाषण केलें. त्याचा जबाब देतांना रयतेनें जीं भाषणें केलीं तीं जरी विसंगत व ज्यांची शुद्ध रचना बरोबर नाहीं अशीं होतीं तरी त्यांचा भावार्थ मोठा खोल विचाराचा होता. रयत म्हणाली कीं, हा कर सरकारनें विचार केल्याशिवाय व आमच्या प्राप्तीचा पुरा तपास केल्यावांचून आम्हांवर बसविला आहे. असा जुलूम करणें असेल तर सरकारनें आमचीं घरेंदारें विकून पाहिजे तर कर वसूल करावा. आम्हीं खुषीनें कर द्यावयास राजी नाहीं, असें सर्व लोक बोलूं लागले. त्यानंतर साहेब लोकांनीं हुकूम केला कीं कांहीं प्रतिष्ठित लोकांस मात्र बंगल्यापाशीं आणावें, बाकीच्या लोकांस दूर ठेवावें. त्याप्रमाणें अब्रूदार, पांढरपेशे वगैरे सुमारें पन्नास लोक बंगल्यापाशीं गेले. बाकी रयत थोडया अंतरावर, आठ-दहा हातांवर राहिली. पण तीही हळूहळूं त्या पांढरपेशे लोकांचे पाठीमागें जाऊन साहेबांचें भाषण ऐकण्यास उभी राहिली. सर्वांचे पुढें पांढरपेशे (ब्राम्हण, परभू, गौडब्राम्हण वगैरे) त्यांचे मागें वाणीउदमी, त्यांचेमागें

कासार, सोनार, मुसलमान व सर्वांचे शेवटीं कांहीं अंतरावर मच्छी मारणारे कोळी व वसई आगरांतील किरिस्तान, पोर्चुगीज, माळी, सुमारें तीनशेंपासून चारशें लोक उभे होते. इतक्यांत साहेबांचे शिरस्तेदारांनीं काल रोजीं मामलेदार कचेरीपुढें नोटिशी टाकलेल्या आणवून ठेवल्या होत्या व त्यांतून एकेक काढून नांवें वाचून हांका मारूं लागले. यावेळींही साहेबांनीं सांगितलें कीं, सरकारांनीं जर कर बसविला आहे तर रयतेनें सरकारचा हुकूम न तोडतां मान्य करून नोटिशी ज्याच्या त्यांनीं घेतल्या पाहिजेत. नंतर नांवें वाचण्यास सुरवात झाली. त्यांत प्रथमची नोटीस गोवर्धन गंगादास वाणी याची निघाली. नोटीस देऊं लागले असतां मी घेत नाहीं असें शेटनीं सांगितलें. साहेबांनीं सर्व लोकांस पुन्हां निवेदन केलें कीं सरकारास नानासाहेबांबरोबर लढाई करतांना बहुत खर्च झाला आहे, हालअपेष्टाही पुष्कळ भोगाव्या लागल्या आहेत, कर्ज फार झालें आहे व त्याचे फेडीकरतां इन्कम टॅक्स—नवीन कर बसविणें भाग झालें आहे. तर सरकारला रयतेनें मदत केली पाहिजे व हें रयतेचें कर्तव्यही आहे. त्याजवर गोवर्धनदास यांनीं जबाब दिला कीं सरकारचे पुष्कळ अव्यवस्थित व फाजील खर्च आहेत ते कमी करावे अथवा साहेब लोकांस इतकाले मोठे पगार आहेत कीं एका साहेबाचा जो पगार असतो त्याच्या चौथ्या हिश्शांत त्याच्या ऑफिसचे सर्व एस्टॅब्लिशमेंटचा पगार असतो. याप्रमाणें दुसरे पुष्कळ खात्यांतही अशीच अव्यवस्था आहे, ती बंद करून जो पैसा शिल्लक राहील तो तिकडे लावावा. त्याजवर साहेब बोलले कीं, जितकी काटकसर करवेल तितकी सरकार करीत आहे त्याच्याविषयीं तुम्ही सांगावयास नको. गोवर्धनशेट बोलले कीं, हें फक्त आपण तोंडानें व वर्तमानपत्रांत मात्र बोलतां. थोडक्यांत सांगितलें तर आम्हीं हिंदुस्थानवासी लोकांनीं अगदीं दरिद्री व्हावें, आमच्या घरांत जीं थोडीं धातूचीं भांडीं व डागडागिने आहेत, ते नाहींसे करून ज्याप्रमाणें अमेरिकेंतील रेड इंडियन लोकांचा निकाल झाला तसा आमचा निकाल व्हावा अशी आपल्या लोकांची इच्छा आहे. आमच्या रयतेच्या घरांत पहाल तर दोन प्रहराला पुरेइतकें अन्नसुद्धां पुष्कळ लोकांचे घरीं राहिलें नाहीं. आमचे धंदे व व्यापार सर्व तुम्ही हिसकून घेतले आहेत. आम्हांस हात बांधून उपाशी राहून मरण्याचा प्रसंग आला आहे. याप्रमाणें आम्हीं अगदीं दीन व दरिद्री झालों आहों. याजकरितां आम्हांस इन्कम टॅक्स नको व आम्हीं तो देणार नाहीं. त्याजवर साहेबांनीं सांगितलें कीं असें म्हणून कधीं चालावयाचें नाहीं. गोवर्धनदासशेट बोलले कीं आम्हीं नोटिसा घेत नाही. तेव्हां नोटीस साहेब त्यांचे हातांत देऊं लागले आणि सांगितलें कीं जर तूं घेणार नाहींस तर तुजवर हुकूम तोडल्याचा चार्ज ठेवला जाईल. त्यानंतर शेट बोलले सत्ता तुमचे हातीं आहे, खुशाल ठेवा. मी नोटीस घेणार नाही. नंतर साहेबांनीं आपल्या जमादारास हुकूम केला कीं, यास पकडून त्याचे हातांत नोटीस द्यावी. गोवर्धनशेट शरीरानें मजबूत, तशांत ऐन पंचविशीचे भरांत असल्यामुळें शेटजी म्हणाले पकडा पाहूं कसा पकडतां तो. तेव्हां जमादार व शिपाई लोक कैद करण्याकरतां त्यांस धरूं लागले. तेव्हांच शेटजीनीं त्यांस झिडकारून टाकलें. असा हातघाईचा प्रकार सुरूं झाला. सबब साहेब स्वत: बंगल्याच्या पायऱ्या उतरून गोवर्धनदास शेटजींस धरूं लागले असतां त्यांची व साहेबांचीही बरीच झटापटी झाली. शेवटीं आठ शिपाई व साहेब मिळून त्यांस तर एकदांचे धरलें आणि पायऱ्या चढवून वर नेलें. ही खबर अशिक्षित लोकांस समजतांच मग काय विचारतां ते आपसांत एकमेकांशीं अद्वातद्वा बोलूं लागले. पुढें जे लोक उभे होते त्यांस या लोकांनीं दोन हातांनीं मागें सारून प्रथम गोवर्धनदास यांस तर सोडवून आणलेंच. गोवर्धनशेटनीं पुष्कळ समजूत घातली. तें त्यांस पटेना. या लोकांस शिपाई लोक हरतऱ्हेनें बंगल्याबाहेर घालवूं लागले व सर्व लोक शेटजींस ताब्यांत घेण्याकरतां बंगल्यांत शिरूं लागले. या लोकांनीं गोवर्धनशेट यांस न सोडतां आपणही शिपायांचे स्वाधीन झाले नाहींत. साहेब तर धिंगामस्ती व गर्दी पाहून अगदीं घाबरून गेले व बंगल्याचे आंत शिरले. शिपाई बंगल्याचीं दारें लावून घेऊं लागले. कोळीमाळी वगैरे लोकांनीं बंगल्यांत जाऊन साहेबास धरून खुर्चीवर बसवून बोलणें

चालविलें कीं आम्हांस इन्कम् टॅक्स सोडावा. इतर लोक चोहोंकडून बंगल्यांत भरूं लागले. सबब तेथें राहणें आतां चांगलें नाहीं असें समजून जलमार्गानें ठाण्यास जाण्याचा साहेबांनीं निश्चय केला. साहेब जलदी करून बंदरावर जाऊं लागले. लोकही धावूं लागले. बंदरावर कस्टमची एक बोट तयार होती. तींत बसून जलदी बोट हांकारण्यास साहेबांनीं सांगितलें. बोटीवरील खलाशी शीड चढवीत आहेत तों दर्यावर्दी लोक येऊन पोंचले. कोळ्यांनीं पाण्यांत उड्या टाकून पोहत ती बोट धरली व मागें फिरवली. साहेबांस विनंति करूं लागले कीं इन्कम् टॅक्स सोडा. साहेब त्यांजला लीनतेनें जवाब देत कीं, सरकारांत लिहून खटपट करीन. लोक म्हणत सोडला म्हणून लिहून दे. त्याशिवाय सोडणार नाहीं. दोन घटका बोलणें चाललें. मागून आलेल्या व्यापारी लोकांनीं कशीतरी समजूत घालून साहेबांस बोटींत बसवून एकदांचे साहेब ठाण्यास गेले. या घालमेलींत साहेबांस कित्येकांनीं धोंडे मारले व धक्काबुकीही केली. त्यांचे अंगावरील कपडे फाटले. पुढें कसा प्रसंग येणार याजबाबत अब्रूदार लोक घाबरून गेले. कितीएकांनीं आपले घरांतील डागडागिने पुरून टाकले, भांडींकुंडीं विहीरींत टाकलीं. गोवर्धनशेटनीं कांहींएक केलें नाहीं. विश्वासू नोकरास जवळ रात्रंदिवस ठेवलें होतें. दोन दिवसांनीं कांहीं साहेब लोक व शंभर पोलीसचे शिपाई ठाण्याहून एकदम वसईस पहांटेस येऊन गांवांत शिरले. ३०–४० सावकार व व्यापारी यांस पकडून ठाण्यास नेलें. गोवर्धनशेट यांचे घरावर पोलिसांनीं गर्दी केली. मग त्यांस ठाण्यास नेल्यावर कलेक्टरसाहेबांपुढें उभे केलें. साहेब त्यांस पाहून अति संतापला व एकदम कैदेंत टाका असा हुकूम केला. पण जामिनावर सोडीना. ठाण्याचे नगरशेट, वाणी, ब्राम्हणमंडळी यांनीं पुष्कळ सांगितलें तरी साहेबांनीं तें कांहींएक ऐकलें नाहीं. कांहीं काळपर्यंत त्या प्रतिष्ठित लोकांस प्रतिबंधांत रहावें लागलें. इतक्यांत मुंबईहून मेहेरबान ऑनेस्टीसाहेब प्रसिद्ध बॅरिस्टर यांस कांहीं लोक घेऊन आले. त्यांनीं कायदेशीर तक्रार करून सर्वांस मोकळें केलें. हा कज्जा ठाण्याचे सेशनजज्ज मे. फार्बस साहेब यांजपुढें दहा दिवस चालला. शेवटीं एकदोन इसमांवर धिंगामस्ती व गर्दी केल्याचा पुरावा झाल्यामुळें तितक्यांस मात्र वर्षसहामहिन्यांच्या शिक्षा झाल्या व बाकीच्या सर्व लोकांस एकदम सोडून दिलें.

SURAT RESISTS THE LICENSE TAX—1878

SURAT DISTRICT MAGISTRATE'S REPORT

(J. D. Vol. No. 132 of 1878 Pages 24 to 31)

No. 154 of 1878.
District Magistrate's Office :
Surat, 6th April 1878.

From

The DISTRICT MAGISTRATE,
Surat.

To

The COMMISSIONER,
Northern Division.

Sir,

I have the honour to report the following circumstances for your information.

2. On Saturday evening (30th March) I received charge from Mr. Pratt and returned to Sachin where my camp then was. I was not given to understand that the smallest disturbance was expected.

3. On Saturday evening (30th March) I returned to Surat for the purpose of meeting Mr. Hope on his way from Baroda, and I then heard that there was some talk of closing the shops the next day on account of the new License Tax. The Hazoor Deputy Collector said that he did not like the responsibility of being in charge of the town and so I agreed at once to remain. I have been here ever since.

4. On Monday morning (1st April) I drove about the town and found that a great many shops were closed, at least ostensibly so, for people were in many cases selling from their back doors

or by removing one board of their shutters, and there was no difficulty about getting provisions. The town was perfectly quiet and the few idle people about were to all appearances in a perfectly good humour.

5. On Tuesday morning (2nd April) I invited some of the leading members of the trading community to see me and asked them to use their influence with the shopkeepers to induce them to open their shops, explaining to them that if they injured anybody it was themselves, and that their action in closing their shops would not influence Government to make any change in the law. These people quite agreed with me, and they had taken this view all along, and that the shops would be opened almost immediately that the people were perfectly quiet and that there was no difficulty as to provisions. In the evening I heard that the butchers had determined to close the meat market next morning, so I made arrangements for procuring meat and selling it if they should do so, but meanwhile I succeeded in persuading them to open their stalls as usual. On Wednesday (3rd April) matters continued in the same state and on Wednesday evening a crowd of persons assembled at the Castle to whom I explained the provisions of the new tax and after some conversation with them all in batches of fifties they went away very quietly and promising to open their shops the next morning. This I know from various quarters they intended to do, but they were influenced by some agitators in the night and on Thursday (4th April) the shops still continued shut.

6. On Thursday (4th April) morning in consequence of representations made to me I issued a proclamation showing that it was not intended to tax the poorest classes. In the evening of that day as I was informed that the poor people who buy their supplies daily had some difficulty in getting their food, I issued another notice saying that if this was the case I would make arrangements for opening shops. On the same evening another crowd of petitioners came to me in office and I heard them as before but found that practically few of them were liable to the tax. I walked about amongst them and talked to them individually but on leaving the Castle they grew rather noisy and insisted on following me. Meanwhile some bad characters had got amongst them and they began to be turbulent especially those who belonged to the Bohora Caste, one of the crowd throwing a stone and hitting me. I then ordered them to disperse and getting a few Policemen together drew them up across a bridge where I stopped the crowd from coming to the European quarters and doing further mischief. They finding they

were checked began to disperse and I was shortly joined by the Superintendent of Police with some more Policemen after which the persons who remained were very quickly dispersed, and the disturbance was at an end. However, in case of any further disturbance I asked the commanding officer to double the usual Treasury guard quietly, also to send a European officer to the Castle, and have a company in the lines ready to fall in if required. This was done.

7. On the morning of Friday (5th April) I went all over the town accompanied by two Sawars and had just returned after finding all quiet and completing the arrangements for opening the shops on the green near the Castle when I received a Telegram stating that the Railway Station was attacked by rioters and asking for troops. At the same time I heard that the Superintendent of Police was mobbed and was in danger of his life. I immediately galloped to the Lines and called out the troops who were ready and Mr. White, Assistant Engineer, P. W. Department, shortly afterwards came up with his face and arm badly wounded. On getting into the town with a company of the Regiment under a European officer following me, I found the Police Superintendent returning with some prisoners. He and Mr. Younghusband and Mr. White had been attacked and as they were hard pressed they took refuge in the Dispensary (having only three Policemen with them). The Dispensary verandah and the railing was broken down by the rioters and the glass broken. They sent off for help, and some Police came to their assistance also half the Military guard at the Treasury (15 men). The mob was throwing stones at them and wounded, besides the Europeans, several Policemen and also some of the soldiers. The latter appeared to have been very hard pressed and then to have fired in self defence without any direct order. I am informed that two shots were first fired from the crowd. The shots fired by the soldiers have, I regret to say, resulted in four persons being wounded, two seriously and two slightly. I have heard of no more casualties. The two seriously injured will I fear die. Of the two slightly injured persons one is a boy related to Mr. Nanabhoy Haridas. For further particulars of this part of my report, I beg to refer you to the accompanying report from the Superintendent of Police. I also beg to send herewith the report of the Railway Police Inspector as to the riot occurred at the station.

8. On arriving at the scene of the disturbance I found that all attempts at violence had ceased. We then dispersed all crowd

and made several arrests. Afterwards I held two meetings of the principal inhabitants. They expressed themselves as perfectly confident in the measures that had been taken and assured me that there was every probability of the shops being opened this morning. After seeing them I went through part of the town and satisfied myself that every thing was quiet. The Superintendent of Police and myself slept at the Castle last night to be ready in case we should be wanted again, and we have now taken up our quarters there.

9. All necessary Police arrangements have been made. The number of Railway Police has been strengthened at the station and a military guard has been placed there as there is a large supply of grain in the goods yards. There are 100 men from the Regiment in the Castle under charge of 2 European officers.

10. This morning some few shops only were opened but on going through the town we found it perfectly quiet. I had another meeting of some of the inhabitants and by using strong measures have now succeeded in getting the people to open their shops in every bazar. I have just returned after another round and I am now able to report that the streets present their usual appearance I hope that tomorrow the ordinary military guards will be found sufficient.

11. I defer to another occasion any remarks I may have to make as to the cause of the riot. I apprehend no further disturbance and have given orders for pushing on the work required in connection with the License Tax Act. From the beginning I have steadily told the people of all classes that no delay in carrying out the necessary measures would be allowed.

12. I have the honour to report that the Superintendent of Police has rendered me vigorous assistance since his arrival in Surat on the evening of the 3rd instant. Both he and Mr. White and Mr. Younghusband deserve, if I may be allowed to say so, great credit for the gallant stand they made against the rioters. I have also to record my sense of the hearty co-operation of the Colonel and officers of the Regiment as well as the Judge and Assistant Judge. I have sent a copy of this report to Government.

I have the honour to be

(Signed) E. C. K. Olivant,
Incharge District Magistrate.

નવા કરારોની સામે અરજી કરવાને વિચાર કરવા સારુ મળો અને એકદીલ થાએ।

જાહેર ખબર

સુરત શેહેરના સઘળા નાના મોટા વેપારી, ધંધાદારી અને કારીગરો વગેરેને ખબર આપવામાં આવે છે કે આપણા ઉપર સરકારના જુદા જુદા ઘણીક રીતના કરો અને વેરાઓ હોવા છતાં આપણી સરકાર અકારો ઈનકમ ટેકસના જેવોજ લેસન ટેકસ નામનો નવો વેરો નાંખે છે અને આપણી દાદ સાંભળ્યા વગર એ કર નાખવાને મુંબઈની સરકારે જલદીથી કાયદો પણ કીધો છે, જેમાંથી સરકારે સરકારી નોકરી, ડાકટરો, વકીલો વગેરે મોટી કમાણીવાળાઓને તો બાતલ કીધા છે અને આ ભારે મોંઘવારીના વખતમાં આપણા ગરીબ વેપારીઓ વગેરેને એ ભારી બોજા તળે લાવી નાંખવાનું સરકારે ઠહાપણ ખરચેલું છે તેથી એ નવા કરની સામે વીલાતની સરકારને અરજી કરવી એમ ઘણા લોકોનું મત છે માટે સંવત ૧૯૩૪ના માહા વદ ૧૨ને ગુરૂવારે તા. ૨૮મી ફેબ્રુઆરીને દીને મુગલી-શરામાં કમીટીની હાફીસની સામે ખાનબહાદુર શેઠ બરજોરજી મહેરવાનજી ફેરજરના વંડામાં સાંજના ત્રણ વાગે શહેરના તમ મ વેપારીઓ મળશે. જ્યાં શહેરના તમામ ધંધાદારીઓએ એ અરજી તૈયાર કરવામાં સામેલ થવું. એવી અરજી પુનાના મહાજને એકઠા થઈ કીધી છે, મુંબઈના લોકોએ પણ ધંધો રોજગાર છોડી ભેગા થઈને અરજી કીધી છે, ખેડા જેવા નાના કસ્બામાંથી થઈ છે, અમદાવાદમાં ધંધો બંધ કરી ૧૧૦૦૦ માણસો ભેગા થઈ એવા જ કારણસર એક અરજી કીધી છે અને આ નવા કરને માટે અરજી કરવાની હીલચાલ થાએ છે, માટે આ કામમાં કે જેમાં આપણને અરજી નહી કરીશું તો પાછળથી ભારે અફસોસ કરવો પડશે તેમાં સરવે લોકોએ સામેલ થવું અને આપણા દુ:ખો અને લાગણીઓ વડી સરકારને જાહેર કરવા.

સુરત, બુધવાર તા. ૨૭મી ફેબ્રુઆરી સને ૧૮૭૮.

નગરશેઠ નરોત્તમદાસ નરસીહદાસ
દુવારકાદાસ લલુભાઇ.

L-A H 225—3

ACTING COLLECTOR'S REPORT

(J. D. Vol. No. 132 of 1878 Pages 125 to 147)

No. 179 of 1878.
Surat Collector's office,
Surat, 16th April, 1878.

From

E. C. K. OLLIVANT, Esquire,
Ag. Collector and Magistrate.

To

H. N. B. ERSKINE, Esquire,
Ag. Commissioner, N. D.

Sir,

In continuation of my report on the recent disturbances in Surat No. 154 of the 5th instant I now have the honor to lay before you a short account as to how, in my opinion, these disturbances originated, and to submit for your approval a proposal for the increase of the city Police forces, both as a punitive measure, and also to prevent the recurrence of any similar outbreak.

2. From the time that a public meeting was held in Bombay to protest against the License tax two or three well known agitators set to work to induce the people to oppose the measure. Several leading members of the community were persuaded by these men to put themselves at the head of the movement, which as they then doubtless imagined would be confined to measures not in themselves unlawful. The notice (copy of which is herewith submitted) alludes to similar meetings in Bombay, Puna, Ahmedabad and Kheda and covertly suggests that the shops should be closed. Next morning a great many shops were closed in the city. In the afternoon the meeting was held, and was I believe attended by crowds of persons but nothing beyond constitutional opposition was openly resolved upon. The shops remained closed for one day only.

3. Meanwhile false rumours were sedulously circulated through the bazars, and the people were urged to give no information to the persons deputed to prepare the License tax forms. When therefore the house to house enquiry was commenced on the 7th

March the people were already in an excited state and were prepared to resist it. The persons employed to collect information appear to have been actuated by greater zeal than discretion and the form entrusted to them was also unnecessarily minute. Some shops were closed and so great was the opposition that the Huzur Deputy Collector found it necessary to withdraw the form he had issued and to discontinue direct enquiries.

4. After this every endeavour was made by the agitators to whom I have before alluded to get all persons to close their shops from April 1st when the new act was to come into force. Several private meetings were held at which those influential members of the community, who were in the first instance put at the head of the movement, were present, and representatives were invited from the various quarters of the town. These representatives coming from almost every class and caste were adjured in the most solemn way to keep all the shops in their neighbourhood closed and to resist Government to the uttermost.

5. On the 1st April most of the shops, and after 1st April all the shops were ostensibly closed. An uneasy feeling prevailed throughout the city, the wildest rumours were floating about, and anonymous letters and notices assisted to keep up the general disquiet. As stated in my previous report, from the 1st to the 5th on which date the riot occurred, I took every opportunity of reassuring people, of explaining to them the scope of the Act, of telling them most distinctly that I should rigorously punish the first breach of the peace or any criminal offences, that I should hold the chief people responsible, who had brought about the closing of the shops, and that I would not put off the operations of the new Act for a single hour in consequence of their demonstration.

6. I have previously remarked on the difference between the crowd of people who assembled at my office on the evening of the 3rd April and that which assembled on the evening of the 4th. On both occasions I suppose there were some two or three thousand but on the former occasion the crowd though somewhat clamorous was orderly and well behaved. The various deputations whom I addressed were prepared to listen to reason, and I have very good authority in saying that the greater number of them left with the intention of opening their shops the next morning. I may mention that on this occasion one section of the crowd consisting I think chiefly of cloth merchants raised no complaint at all against the License tax but confined their objections to the recent alterations in Municipal taxation, and I promised them that if they presented

me with a written petition on this subject it should have full attention. On the second occasion people of anything like a good positior were scarce amongst the crowd, and I believe that these who had assembled were from the commencement inclined to be troublesome.

7. The reason of the change I believe to be as follows. On the night of the 3rd a meeting was held, again at the house of one of the influential inhabitants previously alluded to, and the people who had resolved upon opening their shops were persuaded not to do so, but to stand firmly by the compact which all classes had been induced to enter into. That night and the next morning the principal agitators were hard at work in the town meeting every body to continue resistance. From the beginning of march allusions were made every now and then to former strikes in the city especially to that of 1844 upon the introduction of the Salt tax. On that occasion as you are probably aware the shops were closed, the Adalat was attacked by rioters, and after some days' disturbance and rioting a Proclamation was issued by the Agent and the Judge and Magistrate to the effect that pending a reference to Bombay the provisions of the Act would not be enforced. Therefore when steady resistance to the present tax was determined upon the former riots were recalled to the recollection of the towns--people and I believe it was the allusions to those proceedings that tended more than anything else to the general disquiet on the night of April 3rd and morning of April 4th. The agitators and their emissaries made capital out of the partial success which had attended the riotous opposition of 1844, and the people were encouraged to believe that if they would only act as their fathers had done and coerced the Collector in person the operation of the Act would be suspended.

This is important because, as it seems to me it supplies the answer to the question "How did the riots arise?" I have now referred to the account of the disturbance of 1844 given in Sir Robert Arbuthnot's letter to the Secretary to Government No. 237 dated 3rd September 1844 and looking back to what recently occurred here I can see that there was an evident intention of imitating closely the proceedings of 1844. I was informed on the morning of the 4th that crowds of people intended to assemble at the Adalat and no doubt they would have done so but that I made it generally known that I was to be at the castle. On the evening of the 4th when the mob surrounded me they openly said that they had no intention of separating unless I would suspend the operation of the Act, and unless they had been checked at the bridge,

as previously reported, they would have followed me to the Adalat in pursuance of the former programmes. Then as now the leading merchants held aloof, or made professions of assistance but did nothing and urgently pressed that the enactment in question might be allowed to remain a dead letter pending a reference to Government. I find the same names occupying very nearly the same positions upon both occasions. Then as now an attempt was made to prevent European officers from obtaining supplies in the bazar.

8. When the crowd dispersed on the night of the 4th it was with the intention of assembling again on the following day in front of the castle. Meanwhile I had (*Note.*—In my previous report I omitted to say that I was much indebted to Mr. White for having at my request during the night of the 3rd April erected those sheds, so that they were ready for use the next morning) sheds erected on the green in front of the castle for the purpose of selling grain and other food to the poor people who might not be able to get it elsewhere in order that the want of food might not be held up as the reason of any disturbance. This was soon known about the town, and this was the immediate cause of the attack on the goods yard at the Railway station. Grain was lying there and it was said that the Collector intended to get his supplies by rail. The crowd of persons who went there, was prepared to use violence, some of them as I am informed, having armed themselves with long bamboos beforehand. They took the opportunity of frightening the managers of the Gulam Baba Co. Mills which are near the station, into closing their factory in obedience to the general decree.

9. The attempt to take possession of the goods yard having failed the rioters dispersed amongst the various side streets in the neighbourhood of the main road to the station. There were already a good many idle people in the neighbourhood of Barhampuri Bhagal and the Jhampa Bazar, both adjoining the main road, so that there was every facility for a mob collecting at once. On Mr. White riding down the street, accompanied by Mr. Younghusband the people took it into their heads that he was the Collector, and the opportunity was taken for resorting to personal violence which otherwise would probably not have been attempted until later in the day. The reason of the mistake was, I imagine, that I had been in that part of the town a few minutes before on a horse similar in colour to Mr. White's and that Mr. Younghusband had been seen in my company on the two previous days.

10. In 1848 and attempt (*vide Bombay Gazetteer* Vol. II, page 156) was made to introduce Bengal standard weights and measures into Surat. The people showed their opposition to this measure by closing their shops for several days, and upon a deputation going to the Collector he agreed to take no steps in the matter until they had an opportunity of representing their case to Government on hearing how unpopular the change was. Government decided that the attempt should be abandoned. No actual disturbance occurred on the occasion, but the success achieved was recently made use of in conjunction with the proceedings of 1844, to encourage the people to further opposition. I may here remark that in 1844, and when a slight disturbance was attempted in 1860, and again in the recent riots the first action on the side of disorder has always been taken in the neighbourhood of Barhanapuri Bhagal.

11. I trust I have now explained how the recent disturbances originated and grew into a riot. As however investigations are still in progress I have not for obvious reasons given the names of those agitators who together with the leading citizens who lent themselves to the movement are primarily responsible for the loss of life which occurred. I am happy to inform you that Syed Hassen Edrus C. S. I. who has similarly distinguished himself on previous occasions rendered me every assistance in his power from the first, and that Mir Gulam Baba was one of the few who openly declared that they would give no countenance to the disgraceful method of agitation which was employed. The absence of Musalmans (I do not speak of Borahs) from the mob was very noticeable.

12. I have now to consider what steps should be taken for imposing a proper penalty upon all persons concerned in these disturbances and for preventing a recurrence of similar offences in future. Those who were actively concerned in the riot or who can be proved to have abetted it will of course be prosecuted under the Penal Code. But there are numbers of persons, in fact I may say almost the whole town, who lent themselves more or less prominently to measures while if not in themselves illegal were to say the least disorderly and dangerous, and therefore I think that the establishment of an additional force of Police at their expense will be a very proper punishment for their misconduct, and the only probable safeguard for the future.

17. I have nothing further to add, but as you are at present in Surat I will forward to you the file containing Sir R. Arbuthnot's

report of the disturbances which occurred in 1844 as I think that if you will do me the favour of referring to that document you will concur in the view which I have ventured to submit. It is needless for me to say that I was not aware of the circumstances which I have detailed to you until some days after the recent riot occurred nor was I well acquainted with the history of the previous disturbances. The town is now, as you are aware, in its usual quiet state. The enquiries necessary for the Licence tax are being pushed on to completion without the slightest opposition and the people are beginning to say openly that they wish they had followed the advice which the Collector gave them instead of that of the leaders who have brought them into trouble. From subsequent enquiries I have learnt that six persons altogether were wounded by the firing of the soldiers : of these two have died, one is dangerously wounded though it is now hoped he will recover, and the other three are more or less slightly hurt. I should mention however that in one case at any rate great doubts have been expressed as to whether the wound was not caused by a shot fired from the crowd—of the two persons killed one was a man who had been most active in inciting the people to resistance and who was in the crowd at the time he was shot, by a mere accident.

I have the honour to be
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) E. C. K. Ollivant,
Ag. Collector and Magistrate.

AFFIDAVIT OF CITIZENS OF SURAT

(J. D. Vol. No. 132 of 1878 Pages 631-634)

In Her Majesty's High Court of Judicature at Bombay

We, the undersigned, viz., Rustomji Hormasji make oath and the rest of the deponents severally make solemn affirmation and state as follows:—

Firstly—That on or about the fifth of April 1878 riots took place in the city of Surat.

Secondly—That since the riots arrests of numerous persons have taken place in connection with the said riots.

Thirdly—That a general belief prevails at Surat that the Police are not scrupulous in making such arrests, but that any person against whom they may obtain any information, false or true or whom they have an eye or pique against or from whom there is any hope of obtaining pecuniary or other gratification is subjected to arrest.

Fourthly—That from the time that the said arrests commenced, a general belief has prevailed amongst the inhabitants generally of Surat that the Police as well as the authorities at Surat give encouragement, support and countenance to persons coming forward to give information or evidence for or otherwise to assist the prosecution, while those coming forward to give evidence or any wise to assist on behalf of the defence are viewed with great disfavour and are liable to be arrested and brought into trouble at the mere will of the Police. That this belief has grown stronger in consequence of the fact notoriously known at Surat, that the Magisterial authorities of Surat had handed to Motilal Mohanlal, the city Inspector of Police, a large number of Warrants, signed and sealed, but with the names of the persons to be apprehended left blank. Such warrants put the means into the hands of the Police of arresting any person whom they considered to be obnoxious or from whom they expected or had failed to obtain gratification or who had ventured to come forward to assist those whom the Police had already arrested.

Fifthly—That in order to strike terror into the hearts of the people, and to deter people from assisting the accused, the Police used to cause Gulabdas Bhaidas and the other five persons charged with him to be carried to and fro in the most frequented thoroughfares of the city of Surat on foot with handcuffs on their wrists and the arm of one person tied with that of another. In order to inflict special public disgrace upon Gulabdas Bhaidas a Vakil of the District Court, his arm was on one occasion, tied with the arm of a Dubla of low caste who not a co-accused of his, but convicted of an offence not connected in any way with the Surat riots.

Dated this 3rd day of July 1878.

1. Rustomji Hormasji.
2. Jagjivandas Narsaidas
3. Mer Alli Jaffer.
4. Kapurchand Lalbhai.
5. Nagindas Parbhudas.
6. Parshotamdas Shamdas.

7. Icchram Ghelabhai.
8. Ghelabhai Vakatchand.
9. Aditram Mayeram.
10. Narbheram Harjivan.
11. Sd. K. C. B.
12. Fulchand Savaichand.
13. Narandas Rajaram.
14. Vajaram Bhagvan.

(Sd.) Bhanushankar Naranshankar Dave.

Interpreted by me.

(Sd.) Ganesh Keshav Vaidya.
Sworn Interpreter.
3rd July 1878.

We the undersigned hereby severally make solemn affirmation and declare that the facts stated herein are true to the best of our several information and belief.

Dated this day of July 1878.

Solemnly affirmed by each and every one of these deponents before me—This 3rd day of July 1878.

(Sd.) K. C. Bedarkar,
Deputy Registrar.

I, the undersigned, Rustomji Hormasji one of the deponents above-named make oath and declare that the facts stated herein are true to the best of my information and belief.

(Sd.)

Sworn before me this 3rd day of July 1878.

(Sd.) K. C. Bedarkar,
Deputy Registrar.

[True Copy.]

(Sd.) E. M. H. FULTON,
Acting Registrar.

MINUTE BY THE GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY

(J. D. Vol. 132 of 1878 Pages 1013 to 1030)

All the trials regarding the late riots of Surat having been concluded, we may make a general report on the subject to the Government of India forwarding copy to the Secretary of State.

Those occurrences appeared to us to be so far serious that we caused the strictest enquiry to be made, not only regarding the perpetrators of these outrages but also regarding the instigators.

Many of the perpetrators have been convicted and sentenced to suitable terms of imprisonment. Some persons were charged with being instigators. They were committed by the Magistrate to the Sessions. After a long trial they have been acquitted. But the proceedings have shown that there were *prima facie* grounds for instituting the prosecution and for committing the accused to the Sessions.

Having made careful enquiries regarding the significance of these riots from an administrative and political point of view, I think that the affair is one of which the Government ought to take note thoughtfully.

The mob having shown some bad symptoms the previous evening, attacked early on the morning of the 5th April the Railway station which is close to the city, with the view of stopping the train service, of hindering general business, perhaps also of preventing the arrival of assistance of the authorities from elsewhere. They also threatened a Cotton mill worked by Europeans in the neighbourhood. After doing some damages at the station, they proceeded to the dispensary where they attacked some European officers with stones and brickbats in a manner which showed that they would not hesitate at murder. Shortly afterwards they surrounded and would have killed the Police Officer (European), had not a detachment of Sepoys come up. They threw stones at the Sepoys who fired in self-defence and the rioting ceased after several rioters had been killed or wounded. The detachment of Sepoys arrived in the nick of time, a stronger detachment followed immediately afterwards. But for this there would have been more rioting perhaps several murders of Europeans. Had there been no military force at hand, there might have been a burning of European houses, perhaps of public offices. There certainly was some alarm among peaceful native citizens; there were more than usual withdrawals

of deposits from Government Saving bank and a more than usual presentation of Government currency notes for encashment.

There was much exciting news arriving at that time day by day from Europe and I have been assured that the towns people repeatedly alluded to these circumstances in terms disparaging of, and derogatory to, British power. This was not indeed at all the cause of the riots. But it contributed to that sort of popular excitability and irritability which aggravates outbursts of this sort.

The ostensible cause of the riots was, of course, the imposition of the License tax. Enquiry fails to show that there was anything in the proceedings of the assessors of the tax to provoke the people unnecessarily. Nothing more had been done beyond what was necessary if there was to be a tax at all. The license tax payers, a limited body numerically, did not like the tax; they thought that the times were troublous; that the Government would shrink from facing a disturbance; they had an ill-disposed populace before them; and so they provoked a disturbance in the expectation that it would induce the authorities to abandon the tax. I say this quite in general terms without pointing at any one in particular, without indicating any suspicion respecting any person who may have been acquitted judicially and without any disparagement of the many good and loyal Natives in Surat, some of whom have been specially rewarded for good conduct on this occasion.

The mob consisted mainly, perhaps almost entirely, of persons not affected by the tax. It stands to reason therefore that they must have been instigated. If the particular persons accused and acquitted were not the instigators, still there must have been instigators, not only from among the literary and professional classes to whom the accused belonged, but also from among the classes above them, that is from among the classes possessing wealth and status.

There was also much inflammatory writing at the time in the vernacular Press of Surat, some directly, some indirectly objectionable. I say this, too, without any disparagement of loyal and well conducted Native newspapers. The sympathy shown by the townspeople of Surat, with the persons tried for instigation, was extraordinary. It is believed that there was great social pressure applied to the witnesses for the prosecution to induce them to retract before the Sessions the evidence they had given before the Magistracy and that sums of money were raised by subscriptions for the defence.

It is to be feared that the Police in some respects spoilt the case by injudicious overzeal in preparing evidence.

The local sympathy with the accused is distinct from the sympathy manifested for them in other quarters elsewhere. Such sympathy often arises spontaneously without any particular reason in cases in which Government are prosecutors. In this instance there was the additional reason that some of the accused were members of the Vernacular Press.

I ventured to believe that the other cities of the province of Guzerat are not capable of the conduct of which Surat has been guilty. Surat does not, as a city bear a good repute for orderly conduct. Its past history has been occasionaly marked by troubles of this sort. Though still wealthy and flourishing, it seems to cherish the recollection of having been once the commercial capital of Western India and to possess regretful traditions of a former prosperity which has passed over to Bombay. It does sometimes happen that particular places acquire a special tone and stamp, for good or for evil. And Surat affords an instance of this.

So far from provoking the people of Surat, the local authorities went to the extreme of leniency in dealing with the unquiet symptoms for some days before the disturbance, such as the closing of shops through whole lines of streets, the gatherings for somewhat noisy representations to the Magistrate and Collector, and the like. The local officers were naturally anxious to prevent any disturbance arising in reference to a fiscal matter, and to lead the people in the way of reason without using force. Still the Magistrate, immediately on perceiving that mischief seemed to be brewing adopted military precautions, and the police officers behaved firmly and energetically. These officers have already received the well merited acknowledgments of Government.

The Native Police however, did not behave as well on this occasion as might have been expected though they did not actually misbehave as a body. It is clear however that as our Native army is now so small, our scanty reserves of armed police must be kept in really good discipline. This lesson has not been lost on the authorities of Surat.

An additional police force has been since stationed in the town at the expense of the townspeople, under the provisions of the law, as a protective measure, which has also some punitive and deterrent effect.

However much we may hope or trust that other cities in Western India would not misbehave like Surat, still we must bear in mind that such misbehaviour is possible, that bad example is infectious, and that mischief of this sort—if being unchecked, it were once to gain head, might under certain circumstances spread like wild fire. Our Magistracy therefore while treating the people with all reasonable leniency, conciliation, and considerateness must yet preserve a vigilant, resolute, and masterful attitude, whenever the least sign of mischief shows itself.

Especially they should be careful to prevent any assemblings which appear to have a disorderly tendency, and to use judiciously the effective power with which the law vests them for this purpose.

This affair affords an instance of what has been so often remarked, namely, that although the people are for the most part well disposed and law abiding, and although the excellence of our rule is duly appreciated by them still events occasionally happen—which show that our authority must be sustained by the presence of moral and material force—and which should serve as a warning to us accordingly.

The following extracts are taken from the nationalist monthly સ્વતંત્રતા (Issue of Feb. 1878 pp. 25-27) :—

"લાઈસન્સ ટેક્સ.——સરકારે ઉપલો કાયદો પસાર કરતી વેલા જે ગાયકવાડી વાપરી છે તે સ્વતંત્ર માણસોના મતને બેહદ દુ:ખ ઉપજાવનારી છે. ગવરનરની ધારા બાંધનારી સભામાં સ્વતંત્ર સભાસદોના મતને કંઈજ વજન નથી આપ્યું તો ખેર પણ પ્રજાના અવાજને કંઈજ લેખવ્યો નથી. વળી પ્રજાએ એ કાયદો પસાર થવા પહેલાં પોતાની સહીનું એક "પ્રોટેસ્ટ" રજુ કરવાને જે મુદત માંગી હતી તે મુદત પણ મળી નથી અને મુંબઈના લોકોએ એ "પ્રોટેસ્ટ" ની સભા મેળવવાને માટે ટાઉનહોલની વપરાશ માંગી તે પણ તેઓને મળી નથી. હવે રૈયતના હાથમાં કંઈ રહ્યું નથી——માત્ર સરકારનું કંઈ પણ સપાડું રાખ્યા વગર પોતાને જે કંઈ કરવું ઘટારત હોય તે વગર વખત જવે કરવું અને પછી પણ જો કંઈ જ સાર નીકળે નહીં તો નાચાર નિશ્વાસ મુકી બેસી રહેવું! એજ આપણા નસીબમાં લખેલી વાત છે!

"અફસોસ, સ્વતંત્રતા, તારે માટે આ સઘળી મારામારી છે! સરકાર હમારી પર ગમે તેવી સકતાઈ વાપરે તેને માટે અમે ગાંજ્યા જઈએ એવા તો નથી.....હમે વળી જોમ પૂછતા નથી કે સરકારે શાને માટે આ વેરો નાખ્યો છે?.....અમે અમારી સ્વતંત્રતાને માટે શોક કરીએ છીએ.....સરકાર આપણે માટે વખતે વખતે જે કાયદા કાનુનો બનાવે છે તેમાં પ્રજાની કંઈ પણ સંમતી લેવાય છે?..... ના, સરકારનો કાયદો તેની મરજી સિવાય બીજો કંઈ નથી. આપણે જે કાયદાને આધીન છીએ તે સરકારની મરજી છે અને સરકારની જે મરજી છે તે આપણો કાયદો છે.....

"આ વખતે આપણાં ઈલાકામાં મુંબઈ તથા પુનાના લોકોએ જે રીતે, પોતાની સ્વતંત્રતા પર સરકારની ચઢાઈ અટકાવવાને પ્રયત્નો કીધા છે તે જોઈને આપણને ખરેખરો સંતોષ પેદા થાય છે. પણ સરકારે આ વાસ્તે પ્રજાના મત પર કંઈ જ વજન આપવું નહીં જોઈએ? સરકારે શા વાસ્તે કાયદા બાંધનારી સભાઓમાં પ્રજાની પ્રસંદગીના સભાસદો નહીં નિમવા જોઈએ? સરકારે શા વાસ્તે કંઈ નહીં તો આ સભાઓમાં પ્રજા તરફના સભાસદોની સંખ્યા પોતાના સભાસદોની બરોબર નહીં રાખવી જોઈએ? અને સરકારે શા વાસ્તે પ્રજાને પોતાની લાગણી જાહેર કરવાનો વખત નહીં આપવો જોઈએ? એ સવાલો આપણે ઉઠાવીએ છીએ. સરકાર જો આપણી સ્વતંત્રતા છેકજ ડુબાવી દેવા માગતી હોય તો તેનું આ નિશાન છે. લોકો ખુબ અછી તરેહ આ વાત સમજવા લાગા છે અને તેઓ સરકારની શકિત અને પોતાની નાચારી જોઈને અત્યંત દુખાવા લાગા છે. તેથીજ તેઓને આ વખતે મોટી નવાઈ લાગી છે કે આપણી પર જે જે કાયદા કાનુનોનો બોજો છે તે તમામ તેઓની જરા પણ સંમતી વગર જ પસાર થયા છે, થાય છે અને કદાચ થશે. લાઈસન્સ ટેકસથી જ્યારે કંઈજ ફાયદો થયો નથી ત્યારે આજ મોટો લાભ ગણવો કે લોકોને પોતાની ખરી સ્થિતિ શું છે તે જાણવાનું બની આવ્યું છે."

SURAT RESISTS THE LICENCE TAX (1878)

[In spite of the repression suffered by Surat people in 1844-1848, 1860, 1868, they again came forward to resist the licence tax in 1878. This tax was introduced by the Government, it was said, for meeting the expenditure incurred to combat the famine which had ravaged a large portion of the country. Bombay had taken the lead in organizing the protest against this measure. A meeting was called for the purpose by the Sheriff but the permission for the use of the Town-Hall for holding the meeting was refused. Eventually the meeting was held in an American Circus tent and resolutions were passed protesting against the indivious feature of the licence tax and demanding the withdrawal of the salt duty, as well as the licence tax.]

COMMENTS OF THE PRESS

Lokmitra—A Gujarati weekly of Bombay, commenting on this incident, states :

"If by the grace of the American Circus, the tent was not made available it would not have been possible to hold the meeting"—*Lokamitra*, Bombay, page 118.

The protest of Bombay people as well as from the other cities was

confined to submitting petitions to the parliament. But at Surat people organized a well planned resistance struggle against these measures. They organized complete Hartal from the 1st of April, the day on which the licence tax came into force.

The *Lokmitra*, 1st April 1878—publishes reports of this resistance as follows :—

BUSINESS AT A STANDSTILL

"From the morning the merchants and traders have not opened their shops. Business is at a standstill. The magistrate Mr. Olivant took a round in the city. Not a single untoward incident has happened."

Another correspondent of the same Weekly reports in the same issue as follows :—

"Shops at Chauak Bazar, Zanpa Bazar, Baranpur Bhagol, Nanpura, Nausari Bhagol, Wariavia Bhagol, etc., remained completely closed for the whole day. In spite of persuasion traders of all the communities refused to open the shops."

"We will not open until and unless the Government withdraw the tax". This was the reply given by the people.

PEACEFUL HARTAL FOR FIVE DAYS

On the 5th morning the situation took an ugly turn. The *Lokmitra* (page 224) reports the incidents as follows :—

"Crowds collected and marched to the spinning mill and to the Railway yard to force them to close down their activities and also resorted to stone throwing and other acts of violence in which the Collector Mr. Olivant, Mr. Naurojy, the Railway Police Inspector, Mr. Anderson, Traffic Superintendent and some other European officers and sepoys were assaulted. Fighting took place between the crowds and the police in which some persons were injured on both the sides. The military was called in and the Infantry men without notice resorted to indiscriminate firings to disperse the crowds."

The *Rast Goftar*, a Gujarati weekly of Bombay, asserted that the firing had taken place without proclaiming Riot Act.

The *Lokmitra* (page 221) reports this incident as under :—

"Two persons were killed and other two seriously injured. Nearly one hundred persons were arrested, repression by military and police was let loose".

The Surat correspondent of the *Rast Goftar* (12th April 1878) writes :—

"The behaviour of the authorities and the police is very much to be condemned, they were terrorising the people by arresting any person they laid their hands on. It is reported that the military fired nearly forty rounds".

The *Lokmitra* states (page 224) :—

"People shut themselves in by closing the doors of their houses the whole day for fear of being wrongly arrested".

In the subsequent prosecution and trial six persons were convicted and sentenced to transportation for seven to ten years.

The *Rast Goftar* (page 235) comments in its editorial :

"The local authorities also draw on their heads the blame for giving people a cause for riot. The fourteen ridiculous items to be filled up in the forms according to the licence Act, exasperated the people. This information was intended for ascertaining the income of the persons liable to be taxed. The forms *inter alia* wanted information on points as to how many spinning wheels, cows, buffaloes and other animals the persons or the families possessed. They also sought information as to how much quantity of ghee or butter was consumed by the persons or the families. Let the actions of the rich Municipal Councillors who had raised the town duties and thus taxed the poor classes be enquired into".

WHO INSPIRED SURAT ?

The activities of political resistance in Surat appeared very surprising. This *Rast Goftar* has pointedly commented on Surat's political activities. The paper comments (page 306) :

"It is still beyond our comprehension that timid people merely resisted the Licence Tax of their own accord. How is it that an

ordinary place like Surat, could muster 15,000 persons in a public meeting for a political purpose while Bombay with all its courage could hardly collect 5,000 persons ? In Bombay hardly any shops were closed on the day of the protest meeting ; while Surat organized and continued Hartal for many days. Whose was this initiative ? Was it without any body else's instigation that this had happened ? Wherefrom and how these timid Banias and 'Kachias' (vegetable vendors) got this inspiration ? If all this organization was made by Surati people on their own, then there must be some mysterious political force lying latent in them. If so Suratis have put Bombaits to shame. Surat authorities must enquire and find out the truth."

The trial in which six leaders were tried and sentenced continued for a long period.

In the appeal those six prominent persons were found not guilty and hence discharged.

WARNING TO OFFICIALS

Even some of the Anglo-Indian papers felt that the method of repression followed by Government was fraught with danger. For example, *Bombay Gazette* writes (21st May 1878) :—

"Correspondents have assured us that there is reign of terror in Surat ; if it is, some body is behaving with marvellous indiscretion ; the late riots were an unfortunate outbreak of stupidity but we think they were almost sufficiently severly treated when a lot of sepoys were allowed to fire among the rioters without orders and slayed 2 or 3 of them and wounded others.

"There appears to have been an unworthy spirit of revenge dominating the conduct of the authorities in trying the rioters and we would ask the Bombay Government to interpose its authority and refuse to permit an undignified course of judicial procedure to go further... Reign of terror does not pass off in India without political effect ; and this ought to be mitigated as much as possible by every Government that desires to rule peaceably and successfully an alien country".

II

ATTEMPTS OF ARMED REBELLION

(1) MAHI KANTHA, 1836

(2) DHAR RAO'S BUNDS, 1841

(3) KOLHAPUR INSURRECTION, 1844

(4) W. B. PHADKE, 1878-79

CAPT. JAMES OUTRAM'S REPORT ON DISTURBED CONDITIONS IN GUJRAT—1835

(P. D. Volume No. 37/736 of 1836)

[Captain James Outram—the famous General of 1857 was in early days an officer of the Company's Army on the Bombay establishment. He was asked by the Government of Bombay to make a study of the origin and causes of the 'existing disturbances in Gujarat'. He therefore, made an extensive journey of about a thousand miles from Dharangaum in Candesh (Khandesh) from 14th September 1835 onwards and submitted his report on 14th November 1835.]

Mr. Outram states in his report that he had met with obstruction and incivility while passing through the territory of Baroda and that he had reported so to the authorities at Baroda for the information of His Highness the Gaicowor (page 2).

He writes that his personal observation during the journey "has convinced me of the impossibility of tranquilizing the Mahikantha or of effecting or even commencing any reform of the unruly plans, until they are subdued and their chiefs (whom I shall hereafter specify) punished for the late opposition to our troops." (pages 2 and 3, paragraph 3).

Discussing the military operation against the 'army', Mr. Outram remarks "as the insurgents when energetically pressed by our troops, will seek refuge in the adjoining strong tracts in Meywar and Marwar, it is necessary to our success that several petty states (Dongurpoor, Banswarra, Soonte, Oodypoor, Serohee) should be incited to refuse them access and the better to enable them to repulse such as may seek it and also to secure the good faith and spur the rear of these allies.....(page 4, paragraph 6).

Touching the 'subject of the chiefs now at the head of the insurrection' Mr. Outram states that "the chief object of the Thakoors of Roohalsans and Thakoor of Gooewara in becoming Barwathia in open resistance to the laws was to oblige the British Government to reduce the amount of their dues to the Gaecwar which has been guaranteed by us and therefore not in our power to disturb without His Highness's consent". (page 6).

"The others Sooraj Mull and his brother Sheresing, are young men of restless dispositions, who being for many years at enmity with their father and several others of the chiefs, were hired as leaders of mercenaries by an influential party in Edur to coerce the above mentioned Thakoors who had seized a member of their firm. But when they found the occupation of hunting the Koolies through the hills an irksome employment commenced on their own account to plunder and murder indiscriminately, It is evident there is no possible means of treating with such persons, who can have had little reason originally for taking up arms against Government beyond the expectation of extorting concessions." (page 6 and 7, paragraph 9).

Mr. Outram advocates that "the chiefs above alluded to, who have caused loss of life, be proclaimed as outlaws and that on the identity of the individuals specified in the proclamation being proved before a Drumhead court Martial, the officer commanding the expedition be empowered to execute them on the spot, in the most imposing manner practicable. The delay of trial in the regular courts of justice (should its jurisdiction be admitted) and subsequent execution of the criminals at such a distance from their followers and so late after seizure, would greatly weaken the effort of the example, while on the other hand the immediate execution of the most powerful leaders will have the effect of deterring many from joining and others to fall from their cause, who relied on their support or dreaded their future vengeance when (they suppose) having joined their ends, they will be allowed as herebefore, to compromise with the British Government and rise more powerful from their contest with us; thus the lives of many more innocent persons would be spared and military operations would be brought more speadily to successful termination" (pages 7 and 8, paragraph 10).

"The chief strength of the rebel chiefs, the source of their confidence in opposing us and the instigators to feuds are foreign mercanaries who live by the brawls and warfare they themselves excite. They are chiefly Muckranees, Scindias, Seedies and Gossaies and some Arabs. Of these I believe many are now with the insurgents who, if not so assisted, could oppose our troops with but little effort. I would suggest a proclamation that any foreigners who are ascertained to have opposed our troops shall be dealt with as rebels.

"The case and impunity with which the natives of Gujerat find they can insult and plunder British officers must if not speedily

checked, bring the European sway in this part of India to the low ebb of the mere physical power of a handful of British against millions of disaffected natives, no longer standing in awe of our power, respecting us, it being, I presume, admitted that our dominion is maintained more through the impression of our power to punish those who attempt its overthrow, than any sincere affection to our Government. It is obvious that the influence of, and respect to, British officers, the principal supports of the fabric, must be upheld to preserve the whole from tottering. I fear it may be considered that I exceed my province in thus dwelling on this subject, and pointing out grievances where I am merely instructed to suggest improvement in the police, but the chief remedy, I have to propose being direct interference with our native allies, in opposition to present policy, I am compelled to bring forward the circumstances calling for such a change. In no part of India have I observed so marked a disrespect to us and I am sorry to contemplate the consequences of such a spirit towards the English being allowed to spread. It is gangrene that might soon penetrate so deep as to destroy the whole body." (pages 17-18, paragraph 22).

Mr. Outram remarks that during his above journey, "every authority that I had an opportunity of consulting attributes these in a great measure to the decline of our influence at Baroda and to the very opposite systems of policy pursued towards His Highness the Gaekwar, by the Government of Sir John Malcolm and the Right Honourable the Earl of Clare. I greatly fear that our character for integrity and good faith has received a severe shock, not that I pretend to pass any opinion upon the merits of the measures pursued by either Government. A general bad feeling exists, and this is not surprising when it is considered how many interests have suffered from our change of policy." (page 21 and 22, paragraph 27).

"The consequence is that the European character is no longer respected as it used to be in Gujerat, and I fear it will be a long period before a more favourable impression can be created." (page 23, paragraph 27).

DHAR RAO'S 'BUNDS' (REBELLIONS)—1841

[The deposition and persecution of Chhatrapati Pratapsing (1839) seem to have released a wave of discontent and revolt all over the country. The region round about Satara was naturally much affected and a chain of disturbances followed the deposition. These are styled as "Dhar-rao's Bunds". It appears they were first inspired

and organised by Dharrao Powar of Karad. These were a series of short skirmishes which were suppressed without difficulty, but which continued to appear off and on for about four years. Dharrao's activities were centred round about Prachetgad in Shirala Mahal and Karad. The other names connected with these 'bunds' include that of Ramchandra Khanderao Satve who tried to tamper with army men at Poona (1840).

The most noteworthy of these revolts was planned and executed by one Nimbaji or Narsappa, a Brahmin who was said to be blind of one eye and who was also known by the name Narsingrao. He (Narsing Dattatraya Petkar) had an interview with the Chhatrapati at Nimb, when the latter was being taken to Kashi. He toured the districts of Poona, Ahmednagar, Nasik and Raichur and contacted at Shorapore an Arab jamadar Salem Bin Abood *alias* Koheran. With the help of Koheran and of another Arab, Tallib bin Alli, he collected more than a thousand men for his army at Deodurg (Raichur) and from there marched towards Badami fort which had remained neglected by the British. The insurgents killed the guards and captured the fort. Narsingrao hoisted the flag of the Satara Raja and started ruling the part as a sub-division. But the Company's troops from Dharwar and Belgaum were sent immediately to Badami and the fort was taken back by the British. Narsingrao was captured with his Arab friends and troopers, was taken to Belgaum and sentenced to death. But due to his blindness, the sentence was later on changed to life transportation. It appears that Narsingrao was confined in the Ahmedabad jail where he died in 1862.

A few others, under the leadership of one Jagmohan and Benarban (Brindaban ?) were arrested and sentenced for attempting to seduce the British army at Kaladgi. Subhana Nikam of Samangad and Rango Janardan Apte of Limb also continued these disturbances near Panhala. Colonel Ovans, the Satara resident, was waylaid and put into confinement for about two weeks. This enraged the Company Government and they concentrated their strength to put down these risings, which they effected by the end of 1844. It is difficult to say what part Chhatrapati Pratapsing played in these attempts.].

BADAMI INSURRECTION 1841

(P. D. Vol. 93. Compilation 1308 of 1841 at Page 83)

Summary of a Statement made by Narsappa Dattatrya Petkar of Islampoor in Satara District before the Foujdari Sadar Adalat, Dharwar on 21st August 1841.

Narsappa's father was a Mantri or Dewan of Islampoor. He often used to go to Satara in connection with the Shetty Mahajan Wuttan. He had lost his eye-sight due to small pox. Later on he bought the sixth part of the Mahajan Wuttan. About a dispute concerning this Wuttan and also about Khanderao Bhosley Shiralkar whose Wuttan (Jageer) was attached by the Peshwa, he often used to go to Pratapsing Maharaj of Satara who, one year before he was deposed and sent to Kassee, released Khanderao Bhosley's lands. But nothing was done in respect of his dispute to relieve his worries. The British Resident at Satara also did not give him justice and he got much despaired. He then embarked upon tour of different places. Inspite of lack of eye-sight he happened to be a widely travelled person. He visited places like Poona, Nasik, Ahmednagar, Deodroog, Raichur, Soorpur, Narayan peth, Yatgiri, Gudgunta, Jalihal, Mudgal, Kurnool and other places. While at Mundargi he stayed for 8 days at the Maruti temple and ate at the Dessai's place. At Sorapur he met Koheran who was seeking for a job. He told Koheran that the Jageer of Khanderao Bhosley—a relative of the late Raja of Satara had been attached and that personally his interests were much harmed. He further begged of Koheran to assist him in his design to take possession of Badami, to levy men and that he would expend necessary money for it if Koheran remained firmly faithful to him. The latter gave his word on his sword and said that he would never betray him. When Koheran took service under him he made a yad which he impressed with the seal of Pratapsing Maharaj of Satara which was given him by Khanderao Bhosley. He said "Khanderao asked me to use the seal for assembling a body of insurgents". Narsappa gave the Mohur to Jemadar Koheran. The pay to be given to each insurgent was mentioned in the sealed paper given to Koheran. Koheran and his assistant Talub assembled Arabs and Rohillas and others numbering about 125. He and Koheran with this force went to Badami via Lingsoor and Jallihal and took possession of the fort. Talub had given Rs. 30 to Jagmohan for assembling men. The latter took the amount and went to Shorapur. But Jagmohan, Beneraban and another Rajput came to Badami. They demanded more money to bring people they had ready but who refused to come unless paid. Narsappa then gave Rs. 500 to them. Jagamohan alone went to Kalladgi and he might have tried to seduce the troops there. Narsappa said he did not know if Moostaful Jung was the son of a concubine (Kanchani) kept by Bhau Saheb the own brother of the Satara Maharaja then at Kasee. Dajiba Ghorpuray Risaldar had married his concubine's daughter to this youth. Narsappa further said that he and his men were turned out of Gudgunta, Deodroog and Jalihullee when attempts were made to

assemble more men. The brother of the Soorpar Raja—Pidi Naik was not known to Narsappa. Neither Koheran nor he had ever before, been to Badami. Jemadar Koheran had sent one or two sowars to study the Road from Deodroog to Badami and on return Narsappa and Koheran began their march to Badami. "We took out the key and the bags from the treasury were brought out and given to the Arabs". Narsappa ordered them not to touch the gold and the property of Banashunkury. No Arabs were sent from Bombay and Poona.

Koheran and Talub might have entertained Krishnappa Carcoon.

"Khanderao gave me the seal of the Maharaja and asked me to raise a bund."

STATEMENT OF KOHERAN BEFORE THE JUDICIAL COMMISSIONER'S COURT, DHARWAR :—

"My name is Salim bin Abood *alias* Koheran Jamadar, age 50, Arab. Residence Howurmade.

"There is one Birnaik a brother of Soorapur Naik. I do not know who Pedee Naik is. Birnaik has not employed any Arabs but he quarelled with his brothers and took with him 25 or 30 Beruds.

"I was in the service of Goolam Rasool Khan, the Nawab of Kurnool for 9 months. I left the Nawab's service being discontented. Krishnappa carcoon was kept by us in Deodroog for purpose of writing accounts. From Gudgunta he returned to Deodroog to which he belonged. ..... I do not know Mujafur Jung nor whether he has connection with the Satara Raja.

"Talub brought his own men to Soorapur and brought bullets there. Talub had money and we borrowed it from him for expenses of our men. The Mamlatdar of Gangawati, Bhicoo Meeya has a brother named Mahmen Meeya under whom I served for 1½ years. I had also served at Raidroog, Moodgal and Gangavath and as such though I know Bhicoo Meeya I have not seen him for the last 5 or 6 years. Arabs are employed for a given period on Rs. 18 or 20 per month. No one that entered Badami with us left that place. Narsingrao declared that Badami was his village and therefore I thought that we should keep the fort. When we arrived the men at the gate drew their swords but we fired on them. Raja of Satara has not sent any Khut to me nor have I seen him. Satara Maharaj, Sorepur Raja and Bhicoo Meeya

nave not written to me. I had some letters in a bag which the Sahebs seized at Badami. There is Kurarnma entered into by Narsingrao on my taking service with him. I met Narsappa at Sorepur during the Mohurram. Nassib bin Alli told me at Sorepur that Narsappa was employing people. Hence I met him for a job. 'The seal affixed to my service bond', said Narsappa, 'belonged to Maharaja Chutrapati.' It is the seal that gave me confidence. From Shorapur we went to Deodroog, Lingser, Hunumsagar, Jalihulli and thence to Badami reaching there on the 6th day. I have not heard of any one in Nizam's districts who wish to raise a rebellion or entertain Arabs. No one entertained Arabs at Bombay and Poona and sent them to us. None of the Arabs that were at Nippani are my relations. No jewels were shown to us by Narsappa when the Arabs demanded their salary at Gudgunta. I never told our men that the Maharaja of Satara would pay our salary. ..... It was I who wrote to Talub to bring all the discharged people at Hyderabad for serving under Narsingrao. I asked Narsingrao the necessity of engaging so many men. He told me he had in his possession an order from the Maharaja of Satara to entertain people. I desired him to show me the seal of the order. He showed me a seal on the order which I showed to the saheb at Badami. The words, "Satara Chhutrapati" were inscribed on the seal. According to this order I collected about 100 people. The rest were brought by Talub. We went to Badami under Narsingrao who accompanied us. He told us that Badami was under Satara Government and that it belonged to him and therefore, we were asked to take possession of it and remain there.

"After taking the fort, a proclamation was issued by beating of tom tom that that place belonged to the Maharaja of Satara.

"After about 4 days Government troops arrived and we informed Narsingrao of this. Upon his orders we fought till all bullets and ammunition was spent up."

(Signed) P. W. LEGEYAT,

T. W. MNSPRATT,
Commissioners.

COMMISSIONERS' REPORT ON BADAMI PRISONERS

(P. D. Vol. 92/1307 : S. M. Country)

Extracts from the report of the result of the enquiries for the information of R. H. G. C. submitted by the Commissioners of the Special Court at Dharwar held to try Badami prisoners.

"The Magistrate committed 136 persons for trial for the particulars connected with the 106 persons, who conspired with the Arab insurgents and their adherents. We would beg to refer you to copy (B) sent herewith consisting of first 6 cases. The remaining cases consisted of persons inhabitants of Badami and its vicinity who were charged with having joined with and afforded aid to the insurgents. Of these 11 have been convicted and 19 acquitted of the charge.

"One of these prisoners Faquera tried in case No. 9 has been sentenced to death. His crime was, carrying a letter from the insurgents in Badami to an Arab Jamadar in Nizam's territories soliciting assistance and which it would appear from the deposition taken at Muktal by Captain Jackson of the Nizam's service, the Arab was ready to have given had not the timely appearance of a force deterred him.

"In regard to the other prisoners convicted we have passed sentences of imprisonment with hard labour as seemed fitting in our judgment to the degree of criminality proved against them. We are not disposed to think that they were actuated by premeditated treasonable motive. They however, displayed lack of loyalty and good faith to the Government.

"We regret to state that our enquiries and the evidence adduced on the trials, has not thrown any additional light on the true origin of the Badami outbreak.

"The Arab prisoners kept steadily to the account they gave of themselves before the Magistrate. Narsingrao repeated his former statements and only varied them with an attempt to implicate Khanderao Bhosley, an old descript man who appeared in court and strenuously disowned all knowledge of the affairs, nor does he appear to be connected with it.

"The statement of Koheran taken immediately afterwards in Jail falsifies that part of Narsingrao's story which would tend to

implicate Balasaheb Rastia as also another Narsingrao told Mr. Anshaw the day previous implicating the chief of Gujendraghud. We again saw Narsingrao in the jail and asked him to give the fuller details of his statements regarding the chief of Gajendraghud and Balasaheb Rastia. He said that he would do so on condition that he would be pardoned and released.

"We are inclined to believe that he has very little to tell and from the rambling account he gave us, we should pronounce him as the sole originator of this particular rising. There is no doubt that to a certain extent he was cognizant of the intrigues of the Ex-Raja of Satara and was probably employed as being an intelligent intriguing man and whose infirmity would blind suspicion. It is well-known he had an interview with the Ex-Raja and his adherents at Nimb after the deposal in 1839. It is very probable he was dismissed with general instructions to keep alive any agitation he could excite but that anything specific was then planned was not probable, as he certainly appears to be quite destitute of money and every sort of resource, save what his own invention could produce. He appears to have tried to collect people immediately after his arrival at Shorepur and failed from want of means. This effort may have caused sensation among the numerous unemployed Arabs who infest the Hyderabad territories and have rendered his efforts in the following year more successful. All the money circulated amongst the Arabs, previous to their reaching Badami appears to have been furnished by Talub.

"The leaders of this insurrection seemed to have been anxious to enlist a large force but were obliged to commence operations sooner as the Arab mercenaries were demanding money.

"But although we pronounce Narsingrao to be the originator yet it is obvious that it never could have reached maturity but for the criminal connivance or culpable remisseness of the Nizam's authorities."

DHAR RAO'S 'BUND' (1841)

[Condensed from Satara Residency Records (Outward), Peshwa Daftar]

The Hyderabad Resident wrote letters to the Satara Resident in May 1841 stating that one Koheran (The Arab Jamadar) in collusion with a Brahmin was trying to raise an armed body in Hyderabad. The Brahmin called himself Nimbaji as well as Narsu and had his

"sight slightly impaired". He was staying with Coherran and was supposed to be an emissary of the Raja of Satara. He had some jewels with him and was being helped by a number of Brahmins in raising troops for the Satara Raja. Troops already enlisted by Coherran numbered about six hundred. Deodurg near Hyderabad was their recruiting Centre. Nipani seemed to be their destination, via Badami and Yadgiri.

These insurgents took the name of Chatursing as their leader. Their objective could not be exactly realised. Coherran was reported to have said to his troops, "My master is in Satara under a guard of a Phirangi. The guard has to be removed. I am a man of confidence of the Ex-Raja of Satara. I met him at Nimb."

In August 1841 these insurgents marched on the Fort of Badami under Koherran and captured it. But the forces of the Company attacked and took back the Fort and captured Koherran and one hundred Arabs thus quelling the insurrection.

KOLHAPUR INSURRECTION—1844

[Kolhapur witnessed a series of disturbances all over the state in 1844. This was a sort of insurrection made by the Killedars or the garrison of the forts. This is described as the 'bund' of the Gadkaris.

According to the treaty arrangements (1827), a new Karbharee (Daji Krishna Pandit) was appointed for Kolhapur by the British. His reforms and perhaps his appointment itself, was resented by the Gadkaris. Major-General Le Gand Jacob, special commissioner for S. M. C. (1857), thought that the "reforms were advantageous to our own interest than that of the State". (Western India—page 158.) He goes on to state "our measures on that occasion had led to the insurrection of 1844-45" and that the "people, the adherents of Native dynasties had lost hopes of enjoying their power and privileges and had naturally favoured the intrigues of that time". (Ibid pages 160-61.)

Thus it seems that the disturbances of 1844 were directed at least to some extent against the foreign power and 'the Gadkaris enjoyed the sympathies of other classes'; they were supported by the Kolhapur Shibandees (state-force) and 'the insurgents had set up Government in suppression of that acknowledged by the British'. This insurrection was not small in size or magnitude; it engaged the British army of ten thousand for about nine months. Perhaps it may be taken to be a continuation of the 'bunds' which followed the dethronement of Pratapsing.

The story of the 'Gadkari-bund' in Kolhapur (1844), is not much known. The extract of Bhide's evidence given here gives, perhaps for the first time, the information that an attempt to arrest the Maharaja was contemplated by the British authorities. The statement also contains a few more details of the 'bund'. No corroborative evidence however, could be traced to substantiate Bhide's versions.]

ORDER TO ARREST THE RAJA OF KOLHAPUR (1844)

Statement of Bhide-Karkun before the Ratnagiri Magistrate

Extract from the statement of Ballajee Appajee Bheede Caste Chitpavan Brahmin, Aged 27, Hindu, by profession a Carkoon inhabitant of the Hamlet attached to the village Poosaley, Ratnagiree Talooka. (Pages 169 to 187, P. D., Volume 74/1607 of 1844).

Given before Mr. A. Elphinstone, Magistrate, Ratnagiri on 17th October 1844.

3. "About 17 or 18 days ago fighting commenced between the English and the people of the Fort Samangud which is situated on the road from Belgaum to Kolapoor and about 18 coss to the south-east of Kolapur and.....one European Gentleman and about 100 of the Company's troops had been killed.

4. "The cause of the fighting was because Dajeeba Pundit, the Karbharee at Kolapoor had ordered that the garrison of the fort consisting of about 700 Shet Sundees, should pay whatever Revenue they had to pay to the Mamlatdar appointed by Dajeeba Pundit; to which they replied that as Dajeeba Pundit was the Dewan (Chief Minister) of the Kolapoor state, they were willing to pay their dues to him, but that it would be derogatory to them to act subordinately to the Mamlatdar. But Dajeeba Pundit, the Kolapoor Karbharee would not listen to this and sent messengers to desire the attendance of the people of the fort; the messengers, however, were beaten and driven back. On this Dajeeba Pundit, wrote to Belgaum from where the company troops were arrived and there has been fighting for the last 15 or 18 days, and I have heard that one officer and 100 sepoys have been killed.....

5. "The order which Dajeeba Pundit Karbaree gave to the garrison of the Fort of Samangad to pay their revenue to the Mamlatdar of the District, was disliked by the Hoozreys, Carcoons and other persons who belong to the Durbar of His Highness the Raja of Kolapoor, and approach his person; yet they did not interfere in the dispute going on between Dajeeba Pundit and the people of Samangad fort, therefore no personal altercation had up to this time taken place between Dajeeba Pundit and these servants, who serve before the Raja.

6. "When the Company's troops were before the Fort of Samangad and one officer and some of the Company's troops had fallen, Dajeeba Pundit who had gone there returned to Kolapoor and gave an order to take down below all the Cannon which were mounted all round on the bastions of the Fort; on this the Hoozreys, (or servants who attend on the Raja's presence) and the other persons who were servants in the ordnance Department, replied, "These guns have been mounted on the bastions from time immemorial by the orders of the Rajah and we will not therefore take them down at your orders," to this he rejoined, the guns

must be spiked, but the people of the ordnance department said, neither we agree to this. The Pundit then told the people, if they would not obey orders, they would be imprisoned. This was all that happened that day, but I have no recollection of the date on which it occurred, and the above particulars I learned from those persons who were going in and coming out.

7. "One or two days after this, about half past 3 o'clock in the afternoon the two sons, the elder and the younger, of the late Raja, were sitting in the Cutcherry in the Raja's palace, and the English teacher of the youngest of the Raja's two sons was sitting beside his pupil when a letter from Belgaum addressed to Dajeeba Pundit was brought into he Cutcherry at a time when Dajeeba Pundit was absent from Cutcherry. Therefore, the English teacher took the letter and as the younger of the late Raja's sons was sitting near to the teacher, elder made a sign to his younger brother to take the letter to look at it. The younger Maharaja then requested the English teacher to give him the letter to look at, that he might see what it was about. The teacher replied "You do not look after business and for the last four days you have not come to write. Then why should you require the letter?". The younger Maharaja replied, "I do not care to attend to business, neither I have any concern to learn to write English"; on this the teacher went and sat down in his Palkee and was going off when the Elder Maharaja, gave an order to his personal attendants who went and laid hold of the teacher, who was then going off in his Palkee, and they laid hold of and pulled him out of the Palkee, took his letter and the elder broher opened it and read the contents and perceived that it was expressed therein that both the brothers should be kept in confinement. On seeing this the Maharaja became exceedingly angry and the teacher was taken on foot to the Mutt of Shankeracharya Swamee where he always lodged and there he was kept in confinement under a guard of 25 Ramosees. But I did not hear that irons had been placed on his foot. When the letter was taken from the English teacher he was dragged out of his Palace, was kicked and received blows from the Hoozreys (or Raja's personal attendants) which caused him to vomit blood, and he now is sick. These particulars I heard from those persons who came and went between Kolapoor and village of Iacklay (where I was staying).

8. "When the English teacher was imprisoned it was nearly the time of sunset. and Dajee Pundit was then at his dwelling, situated at the back of Maha Luxmee's temple about the distance that a man's shout might be heard from the Raja's Palace outside

the fort and the elder Maharaj sent Hoozreys there to call him, and they went to him and said, "The Maharaja calls you". He replied "After my repast, I will attend on His Highness". But the Hoozrey entered the Pundit's dwelling and in the midst of his repast, seized him by the hands and pulled him out and with the dhotar which was on his person they tied his arms together and took him to the Elder Maharaja who was in the Fort. He ordered his arms to be set free, and imprisoned him in one of the rooms of the palace, but did not put fetters on him. Around him was fixed a guard of the Hoozreys, and facilities were created for his taking his food there.

9. "The wife of Dajee Pundit saw him have his arms tied and taken to the palace and she also heard he had been imprisoned in the Fort. So she went and remained without taking any food before the image of Shree Maha Luxmee and she stayed there all that night and the following day. The deceased Raja's widow called the "Dewan Sahib" and the mother of the younger Maharaja came to pay their devotions at the Shrine of this Goddess, and told the wife of the Pundit that she need be under no concern for clothes or food and desired her to sit down in the Palkie, but she would not sit there. The slave woman then took hold of her and forced her into the Palkie and she was carried into the Rajah's palace and was confined in a separate apartment by herself, from where her husband Dajee Pundit was apart.

10. "The letter from Belgaum which the Elder Maharaj took from the English teacher contained some sort of order for the imprisonment of the Raja, whereupon he declared, "The company have taken my Raj (Country) and I am to be put under restraint. This I consider to be the same as my own death. When I gave up the fort of Malwa, the Company Sirkar undertook, that to the banks of the Tungbhudra, no one should molest my Government, and now I am to be imprisoned. Therefore now let happen what will, I will not abide under the area of the Company's Sirkar."

11. Dinkurrao Guickavar a former Karbhari, who by order of the Company's Sircar had been forbidden to meddle with business, and had been banished from the Town of Kolhapur, and therefore lived in a village outside, was invited to Kolhapoor and with the intention of giving battle to the Company's Sirkar, both the young Rajas and other chiefs pitched their tents outside of Kolhapoor, and orders were sent forth to the village that new soldiers should attend, as they would be entertained in the Rajah's service and these are accordingly being engaged and I heard that about (10

or 12,000) ten or twelve thousand had been assembled, and about one thousand or twelve hundred horses.

12. "I have heard that the Chiefs who were in Kolhapoor, and the Establishment of Carcoons who from ancient times have been attached to the Rajah, have agreed to furnish the sums necessary to maintain army. I do not know the names of all these sirdars, but the Pattunkar, who is the Rajah's relation, is rich and he has also consented to the Rajah to provide all that may be necessary for expenses.

13. "I have heard that letters have been dispatched to the Rajah's subordinate chiefs "The Ichulkurangeekur" and "The Putwardhan" at Sanglee named "Chintaman Appa" and the "Koorundwarkar" to attend the Rajah's army with their contingents of troops, but whether they sent reply or not or what answer they sent, I did not hear.

15. "I observed about half a coss distant from the Western Gate (of he Maha Luxmee Temple) the encampment of an army, which appeared to me to cover a circle of about one coss in extent, and saw about 25 tents pitched in the encampment and saw about five or six hundred horse, and of the man I saw I cannot say how many I saw, but on the road I met people, both horse and footmen, going for service.

16. "The people who had been forced in the service of the Rajah were sent for by him and were proceeding to join. The new people who were engaged were to have 12 Rupees a month for each horseman and 7 Rupees each for soldier.

17. "One Baba Caka a Deshasth Brahmin who has been from ancient time a servant of the Rajah's Government, was from ancient time in charge of the duty of Mamlatdarship of the Fort of Punalla, and when Dajee Pundit became the Karbaree he also retained him in his duties as Mamlatdar over the Fort of Punalla, and also intended to give him the Mamlatdarship of the Fort of Pavangad about half a coss distant from Punalla along with the country adjoining it. Therefore, Baba Caka was said to be an accomplice of the Pundit Karbaree and on this account he was imprisoned, and 15,000 Rupees taken from him and he was again sent back to the Mamlatdarship of Fort of Punalla.

20. "I heard that the Rajah of Kolapoor sent letters to the Bawdekaree and Vishalgudkuree (chief of Bawra and Vishalgad)

to come with their contingents of Troops and serve in the Rajah's army and to put their forts in order (for warfare).....

21. "The Dewan Saheb" the widow of the late Rajah and the mother of the youngest son abide in the palace at Kolapour and I heard that they had joined with the rest in the general conspiracy not to remain under subordination to the Company Sirkar.

22. "When the Company Sirkar's army had approached near to the Fort of Samangud Dajeeba Pundit who accompanied it, sent a letter in a secret manner by a Hoozray to a Deshusth Brahamin, who was performing the duties of Furanvees in the Fort. He requested him to give over the Fort and he should at once get 30,000 Rupees paid down to him. But the people of Samungad searched him and found the letter and I heard they imprisoned the Hoozrey, and put fetters on the Furnavees and confined him in prison.

(Signed) BALAJEE APPAJEE BHEEDE,

Given before me this 17th October 1844.

(Sd.) A. ELPHINSTONE,
Magistrate.

True Translation

Alex. Elphinstone,
Magistrate.

Mr. A. Elphinstone, the Ratnagiri Magistrate, sent the above statement to the Government of Bombay with his Letter No. 781 of 18th October 1844. The Government of Bombay replied (page 189, P. D. Volume 74/1607 of 1844) that "Lieut. Colonel Outram C. B. on special duty at Colapore has been instructed, when the proper period arrives, to make enquiries in regard to the truth or otherwise of the circumstances deposed by Balajee Apajee."

CAPTURE OF COLONEL OVANS

The following account given by Mr. Elphinstone, Magistrate of Ratnagiri, gives the circumstances under which Col. Ovans was

captured :—

Letter No. 67 of 1844 from Mr. Elphinstone, Magistrate of Ratnagiri, dated 21st November 1844, to the Chief Secretary to Government of Bombay (page 328 P. D. Vol. 74/1607 of 1844).

"To

THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT, BOMBAY.

Sir,

I have the honour to forward translate of intelligence just received from the Vishalgud authorities representing that the insurgents of the Fort of Punalla (to the northward of Colapoor) have intercepted the Resident of Sattarah on his way to Colapoor, and taken him and his party prisoners, and shut them up in that fort.

2. I beg to state that I have no means of authenticating the accuracy of this intelligence, as the event represented to have occurred, if it really did so, took place so far beyond those districts ; but without vouching for its accuracy I deem it right to put Government in possession of the information which I have received.

3. The messenger from Vishalgud whom I have questioned, states he heard that the Resident, and another Gentleman in his company, fell into an ambuscade that had been prepared for them in a hollow between two hills near the fort of Paongud (which is close to the fort of Punnalla) and in which about 1,000 Ramooses, Maungs and others lay concealed in high grass, from where they seized the Resident on his journey. This is so far probable as it was given out at Colapoor some time ago that the Resident of Sattarah was coming there to take superintendence of affairs at that place.

4. From the accompanying Report of a District officer, it appears that Babaji Ahirey and Yema Ramooshee are plundering the country above the Ghauts, and have got as far as the fort of Punnalla. The Political Agent, Southern Maratha Country has informed me that he had requested General Detamotte to send parties in pursuit of them, which he is said to have done. The early dispersion of these bands is very desirable, as besides the alarm they create in the Country below, and the mischief they are doing above the Ghauts, I am given to understand that the

trade between the country beyond the Ghauts is checked.

5. A copy of this letter and its enclosures have been sent to the Pol. Agent, Southern Maratha Country."

ATTEMPTS TO RELEASE COL. OVANS

Efforts were made to effect the release of Col. Ovans by negotiations, which, however, failed. The Ratnagiri Magistrate reported the matter to Government by his Letter No. 68 of 1844, dated 24th November (page 338 P. D. Volume 74/1607 of 1844).

"To

THE GHIEF SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT, BOMBAY.

Sir,

I have the honour to forward for the information of Government translation of a communication from the authorities at Vishalgud confirming their previous account of Col. Ovans being now a prisoner of the rebels in the fort of Punnalla ; and stating that they will not on any of the terms which had been offered, consent to release him and that our troops had consequently marched to invest the fort.

2. Babaji Ahiray and his party who escaped from Boodurgud seem to have made good their entrance into the fort of Punnalla.

3. From the reports, I receive ryots beyond the frontier of this zilla seem to be in a state of much alarm from the forcible exactions which Babaji Ahiray and his Bund are making from the different villages in the Colapoor territory.

4. A copy of this letter and its enclosure have been sent to the political agent, Southern Maratha Country."

The events that followed the above incidents can be summarised as under :—

On the morning of the 26th instant, the insurgents took by surprise the fort of Vishalgud and imprisoned the Karbarees there. who were favourable to the British interests, that they afterwards descended, on the evening of the 26th by an unfrequented path into the Concan to the Vishalgud Ekturfa village of Deoday, and

were expected to proceed to exact the Revenue of the Vishalgud Ekturfa village (page 347, Vol. 74/1607, PD. of 1844).

COLONEL OVANS RELEASED

We get from Vol. 1612 P. D. of 1844 the news of Colonel Ovan's release, as under :—

(Translation of a Marathi letter from His Highness the Raja of Sattara to Sir George Arthur Baronet, Governor Saheb Bahadoor under date the 2nd December 1844).

"Alijah Lieut. Colonel Ovans Saheb Bahadoor Resident of Sattara left Sattara for Kolhapur on the 14th ultimo, to make arrangements in that country while he was travelling thither on the 16th ultimo. He was waylaid in the narrow pass called Dane Khind between the Punnalla and Pown Forts and taken into the former by the Rebels who had descended from the fort for that purpose. (page 749, P. D. Vol. 1612 of 1844).

British troops having fixed their batteries near the fort the cannon opend their fire on the walls on the morning of the 30th ultimo, and at 10 o'clock that night the Resident Saheb came down safely from the fort into the British Camp." (page 481, P. D. Vol. 1612 of 1844).

NEWSPAPER—NEWS AND COMMENTS

1. The "Bombay Times" (16-10-1844) states :—

"British blood lavishly expanded."

"It is lamentable consideration that British blood and treasure should be so lavishly expended in altering the state of affairs in an independent kingdom which will probably revert to its own condition whenever the Raja attains his majority or assumes the reign of Government."

2. The "Dynan Sindhu" (21-10-1844) says :—

'कोल्हापुरांतील सामानगडचा किल्ला अजूनपर्यंत बंडवाल्यांच्या हातांत आहे. इंग्रज सरकारास लढतां लढतां १७ दिवस झाले. परंतु कर्नल वॉलेस याने तो घेतला नाहीं, असे म्हणतात कीं बंडवाल्याबरोबर सल्ला किंवा त्यावर माया केल्याशिवाय तो किल्ला कंपनींच्या अंमलांत यावयाचा नाहीं. (कोल्हापुर) महाराजांचे चाकरींतील पांचशें

स्वार बडवाल्यास मिळाले आहेत. (बाबाजी आरेकर माजी मुख्य कारभारी दोन हजार पायदळासह.)'

3. "Dynan Sindhu" 28-10-1844.

'सरकारच्या लोकांनी १३ वे तारखेस सूर्योदयापूर्वी सामानगड किल्ला हल्ला करून घेतला. किल्ला घेतल्यावर २०० आसामी कैद केले.'

KOLHAPUR 'BUND'—1844

[Condensed from Satara Residency Records (Outward), Peshwa Daftar]

In October 1844 the insurgents imprisoned Daji Pandit, the Karbhari of Kolhapur and took possession of the city. Postal communications from Belgaum were cut off by them. Subhana Nikam reached Samangad with 500 insurgents and cut off all communications south of the Panchganga. The rebels captured the forts of Pannala and Pavangad. Raoji Waknis and Dinkarrao Gaikwad raised a standard of rebellion and placed guards round the town of Kolhapur and controlled all the communications. The rebellion gathered force and many people started co-operating with them.

Vishalgadkar also joined the rebellion. The treasury of Chiodi was plundered by the rebels, who killed Government's guards, liberated the prisoners and burnt all Government records. The Government officers fled from the place.

The fort of Samangad was captured by the rebels on the morning of 13th October. Colonel T. Ovans left charge of Satara in favour of Captain Hart on 12th November, 1844 and went to the Kolhapur war area. But he was taken prisoner on his way to Kolhapur and kept a captive for some weeks at the fort of Pannala. He was released by British forces and resumed charge of Satara residency on 20th January 1845. He again handed over charge to Captain Hart on 27th January 1845 and submitted his resignation which was accepted with effect from 1st February 1845. Captain Hart was the Ag. Resident till 24th May 1845, when Lt. Col. J. Outram assumed charge of the Satara Residency.

WASUDEO BALWANT PHADKE

[Wasudeo Balwant Phadke was one of the earliest revolutionaries of Maharashtra who resorted to violent methods in an endeavour to rid the country of foreign rule. In 1879 he actually tried to raise an army of Ramoshis, Dhangars, etc., to wage war against the British Government. In the nature of things, such a campaign was bound to be a shortlived and very small affair. Eut the movement has significance in the sense that it represents a deliberate and conscious effort, ineffectual and crudely conceived as it was, to rise in rebellion against foreign domination. Stories of Wasudeo Balwant's exploits had evoked considerable interest in contemporary times.

Born in 1845 in the district of Kolaba near Eombay Wasudeo Balwant did not receive much education but acquired just enough knowledge of English to be able to secure Government service which he did while in his 'teens'. In 1863 he joined the Commissariat (Military Accounts) department and continued to serve there for over fifteen years. Extremely sensitive and impulsive by nature, Wasudeo had developed a feeling of profound dislike for the Eritish Government and that feeling deepened into hatred when in 1869 there was delay on the part of his superiors in granting him leave for which he had applied on account of his mother's illness. It was sanctioned too late and when he rushed to his mother's bedside she was already dead.

Wasudeo used to collect youngsters and give them training in the use of arms and discourse to them on the virtues of Patriotism and Swadeshism. In 1876-77 Western India was visited by a terrible famine and the sufferings of the people were almost unbearable. The spectacle of their sad plight confirmed Wasudeo in his belief that all that evil was a direct consequence of a foreign rule ; and he decided to end that rule as quickly as possible. As no active support for an armed insurrection was forthcoming from educated people Wasudeo gathered a few "Ramoshis" (a backward community in Maharashtra) and began to commit with their help political dacoities with a view to securing the money necessary for raising an army. No Government treasury or office was however attacked, and therefore later on the charge of waging war against the Queen could not be preferred against him. Some of these dacoities did prove successful in yielding small amounts of money, but the 'Ramoshis' could not catch up with Wasudeo's ideology and appropriated to themselves the amounts so collected. Thoroughly disappointed and disgusted by this experience Wasudeo went to the temple of Shaila Mallik Arjun in Kurnul District of Madras Presidency to practise penance. It is

said that while in the temple he was once on the point of ending his life but was prevented from doing so by some acquaintances near-about. He then started again on his search for new recruits for an army and for the funds necessary to organise such a force. Contacts were established with some adventurers in the Nizam's dominion, i.e. Hyderabad territory and there seemed to be a good prospect of enrolling some Rohillas.

Meanwhile the British police who were constantly in pursuit of the rebel succeeded in tracing him to Dever Nadagi (Dist. Kaladagi) in the Nizam state where he was arrested by Major Daniel and Sayed Abdul Haque, Police Commissioner of Hyderabad on 21st July, 1879. He was then brought to Poona, tried under sections 395, 400, 121A, 122 and 124A of the I. P. C. and sentenced to transportation for life in November 1880. A month later the High Court rejected his appeal and he was sent to Aden in January, 1881 to suffer the sentence. He managed to escape from the Aden jail in October 1881 but was re-arrested and confined on the very next day. To prevent any further attempt at escape fetters were put on his legs all the time and that caused him immense hardship. It seems he then began to partially starve himself by not consuming all the ration given to him. Orders were given after some time for the removal of his fetters but his health seems to have deteriorated and on 17th February 1883 he died a prisoner in Aden.

Wasudeo's old father survived him till 1909 and his second wife died as late as 1940.

While at Shail Mallik Arjuna temple Wasudeo wrote his auto-biography which was produced in the Court as evidence against him. It is a small document covering only a few pages and was composed between 19th and 26th April, 1879. He also wrote a diary from 18th February to 29th May 1879. Both these manuscripts were found on his person when he was arrested at Dever Nadagi and produced in the trial Court as pieces of evidence.

The following extracts give a brief account of Wasudeo's trial and contain information bearing on the political dacoities committed by him. Victims of the dacoities were mostly villagers of the villages attacked but it is the political complexion of these crimes that puts them in a category by themselves. They were not acts of ordinary criminals perpetrated for purely selfish and mercenary ends.]

WASUDEO BALWANT PHADKE

(Vol. Nos. 58-59 of 1879-80, Judicial Department) Pages 1 to 360

Wasudeo Balwant was arrested at Devernadigi in Kaladgi District on 21st July 1879 by Major Daniel and Syed Abdul Hak, Police Commissinor of Hyderabad. Wasudeo Balwant wanted to raise an army of 200 men for looting the Khed Treasury. The looting was designed with a view to equip himself with men to raise an army for "destroying the English". But he could not collect the men. He then collected a few Ramoshis and carried on stray dacoities. He could collect some money, but the Ramoshis quarrelled over the loot and left him almost after every adventure. Being disappointed with Ramoshis, he tried to enlist Kolis and Dhangars, but he could not achieve any success. On 2nd April 1879, Wasudeo Balwant came to Poona and thence he went to the Nizam's territory. He spent some weeks in the shrine of Shri Shela Malik Arjuna in the Karnul District of the Madras Presidency. He was laid up with fever. He then left for Ghanur in the Nizam State and thence went to Devernadigi. He was arrested there on 21st July 1879. He was staying there as a "Kashikar Buwa". Before his arrest he had made a contract with some Rohillas and others to supply him a large number of men for his work in Poona". (Summary of Legal Remembrancer's Letter, dated 28th September 1879, pages 63 to 65.) After Wasudeo Balwant's arrest Syed Abdul Hak, Police Commissioner of Hyderabad, was instructed to inquire into the enlistment of a large body of Rohillas by Wasudeo Balwant. The inquiry brought out the following facts :

"Ismail Khan, a Jamadar of Rohillas, had entered into written agreement to furnish Wasudeo Balwant with 500 Rohillas on salary of Rs. 10 each. Sunasi, a Ramoshi Naique, had agreed to furnish 100 coolies,—Satiya Naique 100 coolies, and Mailgiry Naique 200 coolies,—making a total of 900 armed men. But the fulfilment of this plan was frustrated by the arrest of Wasudev Balwant, who was promised further help in men, whenever such help was required. On receiving this news, Abdul Hak went to the Rohillas stronghold at Anoor, where Ismael Khan and his gang were located. He arrested Ismael Khan and certain other Rohillas. He kept these captives in the temple at Gudoor. At night the Rohila residents of the surrounding villages decided to make an attack on the Police Commissioner's small party. The Naik of the Co-regent Shams-oo-oomrao came to the rescue and succeeded by his eloquence in pacifying them. Abdul Hak then arrested the three above-named Naiques and their accomplices. All these prisoners were examined by Major Daniel, who subsequently arrived at Gudoor. The

prisoners admitted their agreement to provide Wasudeo Balwant with armed men. Among Wasudev Balwant's papers seized were a Bombay army map, a Diary and a seditious letter in original from Bhaskar Nujume (an astrologer) for presentation by Wasudeo Balwant to Maulvi Mahmood Sahib, who was the head of the Arabs, Rohillas and Sikhs in the Nizam's service. A search was made for this Bhasker right up to Kurnool, but he was not found. It was then learnt that Bhaskar had been captured by the Benares police. It seemed that Wasudeo Balwant had approached all Native States in and beyond the Deccan. The dacoity with murder committed by Rohillas at Boloram was stated to be done by persons assembled by Ismael Khan to be handed over to Wasudeo Balwant." (Summary of pages 33 to 44.)

OPINION OF LEGAL REMEMBRANCER

The Government of Bombay then had discussions with the Legal Remembrancer as to the charges to be levelled against Wasudeo Balwant for prosecution. The Legal Remembrancer gave his opinion as under :—

1. The first charge would be under section 400 of Indian Penal Code, for " belonging to a gang of persons associated for the purpose of habitually committing dacoity ". Maximum punishment under this section was transportation for life. Charges under section 395 might also be framed for individual robberies committed by him. As no death occurred at any of the dacoities where Wasudeo Balwant was present, the latter could not be punished with death.

2. Wasudeo Balwant could not be an ordinary dacoit and his purpose was not mere dacoity. As was clearly stated by him in his diary as well as autobiography, his sole object was to raise a rebellion to destroy the English.

3. He could not be charged with " attempt to wage war against the Queen " under section 121. All he did was to molest his own people. No overt act of any kind was ever committed against the Government. There was no attempt to wage war under section 107 also.

4. But there was abundant evidence to establish the offence under sections 121A, 122 and 124A of the Indian Penal Code, 121A and 122 pertain to " collection of men, arms, ammunition or otherwise preparing to wage war with the intention of either waging or being prepared to wage war against the " Queen ". Section 124A

was for "exciting feelings of disaffection to the Government", which offence was easily proved by Wasudeo Balwant's own writings.

5. It should be unwise not to bring any political charge against him, as his diary and autobiography would have to be produced to prove that he was present at and abetted all the dacoities. He should, therefore, be convicted under section 121A or 124A and also under sections 395 and 400.

The Government of Bombay decided to prosecute Wasudeo Balwant under all the above sections. The trial brought transportation for life to Wasudeo Balwant. He was taken to the Yerwada prison and from thence he was transferred to the Thana Jail. There was great public enthusiasm on the Poona station on the day when he was being taken to Thana. The respect shown by the people to Wasudeo Balwant was so great, that Government was taken aback and officers responsible for not keeping the transfer a close secret were reprimanded. From Thana Jail Wasudeo Balwant was to be removed to the Andmans. A whole gang of life convicts was to be sent to the Andmans. But Government directed Mr. Smith, Superintendent Thana jail, not to send him with the gang, but to escort him secretly by a previous train and subsequently joined to the gang of life convicts. He should, until then, be kept at the Julgaon prison. It was against rules to send away Wasudeo Balwant, before he had appealed, but Government was sure that the appeal would not affect the action of the Government. (Pages 266 to 277.)

HIS APPEAL

Government Pleader Nanabhai Haridas wrote the following letter to Mr. Naylor, the Legal Remembrancer : (letter, dated 16th December 1879, page 278) :—

"My dear Mr. Naylor,

W. B. Phadke's appeal came to-day for admission. Mr. Mahadeo Chimnaji Apte appeared in support of it. The Court consisting of Mr. Justice Puibey and Mr. Justice F. D. Melvill was not satisfied that there was any misdirection to the jury or that the sentence was too severe and rejected the appeal.

Yours sincerely,

Nanabhai Haridas."

Government subsequently decided to send Wasudeo Balwant to Aden in place of the Andamans. The Inspector-General of Police was directed to arrange for the safe delivery of the prisoner to the P. & O. steamer under the escort of an able European Police Officer. (Page 284).

Wasudeo Balwant was accordingly taken secretly from Thana to Byculla in the early morning of Saturday, 3rd January 1890, the day on which the P. & O. steamer s. s. Tehran was to sail from Bombay for Aden. The Bombay police took him equally secretly to the steamer, which sailed as per schedule on the 3rd of January. The P. & O. Company were paid Rs. 545 for the travelling charges of Wasudeo Balwant and his police guards. (From Vol. 75, J. D. 1880.)

A letter, dated 19th October 1880 written by Major G. R. Goodfellow, Assistant political Resident at Aden to the Chief Secretary, Government of Bombay, states that Wasudeo Balwant effected his escape from the Aden jail at 3 a.m. on 13th October 1880 and was recaptured and brought back to the jail at 3 p.m. on the same day. The facts regarding the escape are given by Aden Jail Superintendent, Dr. Colson in his letter to Inspector General of Police, Poona (16th October 1880) (J. D. Vol. 75 of 1890).

Information was received that Wasudeo Balwant wanted to escape. He was then fettered and placed in a cell close to the office, where the night guard were posted. An additional peon was posted over him. On the night of October 13, he pulled the door off the hinges and with a hinge took off his fetters. He then took another door off its hinges and placing this against the wall he climbed over. He waited until the morning at the main pass gate and passed through with the crowd. The guards who were supposed to be in charge of the gaol were all asleep without exception. Two of these were asleep close to Wasudeo Balwant's cell within 2 or 3 yards of it and as the most guilty they were directed to be prosecuted. The mode of guard was very unsatisfactory. The jail at night was in charge of a most inferior class of servants, who were chiefly, with the exception of a few Somalies (who were equally untrustworthy) the refuse of the Indian Population. No amount of care or vigilance on the part of the jailor availed, as there was no security in any one single building on the jail premises. (J. D. Vol. 75 of 1880 Escapes Aden.)

Wasudeo Balwant in his evidence as witness No. 3 in the criminal

case against two peons, Abdul Reheman (on duty after 3 a.m.) and Shamsoodin (on duty before 3 a.m.) said that he effected his escape at 11-30 p.m., that he remained in the grain grinding shed for two hours (i.e. up to 1-30 a.m.) then got over the jail and sat down for over an hour (up to 3 a.m.) and then walked to the South gate (Hokat Bay) and back to the main pass, at which place he found the gate open and walked through just at dawn, very soon after 5 a.m. There was moonlight when he left his cell, but the moon itself was not visible, being concealed by the high hills which turned over the ravine in which the jail was situated. When he left his cell, the two accused and Shaikh Suggun were all lying down close to his cell and that when he was at the grain shed he overheard a conversation between the Shaikh Suggan and a prisoner named Abdul Rahim, who was employed in lighting the jail lamps. (J. D. Vol. 75 of 1880).

The recapture of Wasudeo Balwant was effected on the same day, details of which can be gathered from the report submitted by Mr. L. P. Walsh, Assistant Political Resident in charge of Police at Aden, submitted to Captain F. M. Hunter, 1st Assistant Resident. The followigg extract from the report gives the pertinent information :

"Shortly after 6 a.m. on the 13th instant I received a note from Dr. Colson, Superintendent of the jail, requesting me to take the necessary steps for the arrest of Wasudeo Balwant. This news was immediately telegraphed to the point and all available members of the force under my charge were at once despatched to search for the fugitive.

"Empty houses and ravines in the N. W. part were visited by the police and a strong party was sent up the Mussori Hill. Here the prisoner's Langote was found and this led us to suppose that he had escaped towards the Isthmus.

"A reward of Rs. 200 was tomtomed throughout the settlement for the apprehension of the convict. This induced about two hundred Somalis and Arabs to join the pursuit which was prosecuted with great energy.

"At 1-30 p.m. I received information that the fugitive had been arrested by four Arabs near 'Big Abed.' This proved to be the case, as on going to Bamer Gate with Mr. Sullivan, Inspector of Police, I found convict Wasudeo Balwant in the custody of two jail peons and some other policemen (J. D. Vol. 75 of 1880).

HIS LAST DAYS

The following extract from a letter by the Aden jail superintendent, dated 20th February 1883, gives some idea about the death of W. B. Phadke in the Aden jail, on 17th February 1883 :—

"From July 1881, he was given extras in the shape of milk and potatoes, as, being a Brahmin, meat was precluded. He remained as fairly well as could be expected in a prisoner in solitary confinement. But in August 1882 when the jail was in charge of Dr. Robb, he requested that half his milk and potatoes might be stopped. This was done and the prisoner was weighed several times by Dr. Robb and lost weight. On my return in September I remonstrated with the prisoner and directed his return to his former quantity of extras, but he constantly left half or perhaps more of his food and at the same time made frequent requests to have his chains removed. This request being inadmissible and finding the prisoner getting worse, I obtained the sanction of the Inspector-General of Police for light fetters to be made and immediately on the prisoner being informed that this had been done, he commenced taking all his food and openly said he should try and get better ; symptoms of phthisis had been more or less present and were now gradually developing ; about the 15th January last, the prisoner was so much worse that his fetters were removed and he gradually sank and died on 17th February. About a week before his death he drew my attention to the section in jail mannual which gives direction about the release of sick prisoners. How he became acquainted with this I do not know. Putting all these facts together, I am of opinion that the prisoner purposely injured his health with the view of either effecting his escape when his chains were removed or getting into such bad health as to necessitate an application for his release."

E. Colson, Surgeon Major,
Superintendent of Jail, Aden.

(From J. D. Vol. 60 of 1883—Pages 287 to 298).

ACCOUNT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF WASUDEO BALWANT PHADKE

JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT

(In Compilation No. 340 33 of 1879. Vol. No. 58-59 of 1879-80.)

February to July 1879.

(Summarised by Government from the evidence produced against Wesudeo Balwant).

1. There is no much evidence of Wasudev's proceedings previous to the assemblies at Loni Khand on the 20th and 21st February. Some of the witnesses in the Dhamari Dacoity Case (tried in the Sessions Court on the 15th-19th April) made statements about him:—

(1) *Mahadev Govind* said that Parashram Patankar and Hari Gapchup used to visit his house and practise fencing with him, and that Wasudev had a gun, with which once or twice they went out to Parvati tank to practise.

He also deposed to Ramoshis having come to Wasudev's house, and to his having on one occasion gone with Wasudev, at his request, to Vadhiv, *when 5 or 6 Ramoshis came to them and Wasudev urged them to collect people to rebel,* and they agreed.

Also that Wasudev "once told him he meant to stir up a rebellion."

(2) *Parashram Narayan* said he "used to visit Wasudeo to learn fencing for exercise", and that he "once *said he was going to raise the Ramoshis* and would I help him."

(3) *Bala Kashinath,* Wasudev's wife's brother, said that Ganesh Krishna and Gopal Karwe used to come to Wasudev's house and *read about wars and robberies* in a paper called *The Herald,* and that one Janku (A Ramoshi) used to come too. Also that Wasudev had.....

2 pattas (single sticks).
2 swords,
1 gun,
1 pistol, and
3 spear heads,

which he "sent to Loni, or some village cancealed in Karbi."

(4) *Balaji Narayan* said that he was staying for 15 days with Wasudev, and that he saw Ramoshis come to visit him three or four times. He added "*They used to say they would rise* and had nothing to eat. *Wasudev said he would help them, and asked how many men they could collect.* Accused 16 (Chimi) said 60 or 70. Accused 1 (Janku) some 25. *Wasudev said he wanted to have*

A *Hindu raj, and establish the Hindu religion.* There were other people whom Wasudev called 'people of Bhor', and they would rise from *famine, and spoke of getting Bhils from Gujarat."*

(5) *Sitaram Balkrishna* said that he met three Ramoshis at Wasudev's house, and one of them (Janku) *agreed to collect 30 or 35 men, and other (Chimi) 60 or 70,* but that he did not understand for what purpose.

(6) *Janu Raghoji,* a kunbi said that he had met a Brahmin from Poona twice last year at Janku's house, and once this year at Loni Khand, and that the Brahmin who said he was "a Government man" had given him and others money to enter his service, and to commit robberies, and that he promised them Rs. 15 per month.

I understand that in addition to the above witnesses, the police will also probably be able to secure the evidence of a Ramoshi named Arjun, who is employed on the railway, and states that *Wasudev met him and asked him to join* him in his proposed rising.

2. In his Autobiography* (p. 18)† Wasudev says *he gave "lectures" in Poona and other places,* but of this there is, I believe, no independent proof; and again at page 20 he writes: "First of all having gone to Narooba's Wada I performed prayers: *going and coming on the road I poisoned he minds of the people against Europeans.* I assembled the Ramoshis of the villages round Poona, etc." There is some corroboration in his Autobiography of what the witnesses say about his practising in the use of arms. After narrating certain grievances against the English, he writes (p. 19): *"Thinking of thousands of things like this, my mind turned against*

**Note.*—Wasudev's Autobiography written between the 19th and 26th April, during the last three days of which he was lying (according to his own account) dangerously ill of fever and expecting to die at the shrine of Shri Shela Malik Arjun in the district of Karnul (Madras Presidency) and his Diary containing entries in pencil from 15th February to 18th May were found by Major Daniell in a carpet bag with which Wasudev was travelling when the arrested him on the 21st July at Dever Nadigi. In his statements before the First Class Magistrate on the 22nd and 27h August, Wasudev admitted that both the Autobiography and the diary are in his handwriting. But he said he had fever for four days when he was finishing the former, and, therefore, did not read it over. He said, too, that only some of the entries in the Diary were true, the others having been written as "aides to memory" (Khune Karitan).

†The reference here and hereafter are to Major Daniell's translation of the Autobiography.

the English, and I wished to ruin them. From morning to night, bathing, eating, sleeping, I was brooding over this, and I could get no proper rest. At midnight I used to get up and think how this ruin might be done until I was as one mad. I learnt to fire at targets, to ride, also sword and club exercise. I have great live of arms, and always kept 2 or 3 guns, 5 or 6 swords, pattas (long swords) spears etc., by me". This last statement is to some extent corroborated by the result of the search of Wasudev's house in Poona in March last. *"Two swords, two guns, two handles of foils, a piece of chain armour, some powder,* four seers of lead, and some holsters "* were found in it.

3. What the witness Bala Kashinath (Supra para. 1·3) said about arms having been sent by Wasudev to "Loni or some village concealed in Karbi" is confirmed by an entry in Wasudev's Diary for the 19th February. The entry is as follows:—

"Gave arms and sent away the cart at night. In the cart were the following:—

5 swords—3 in good order, 2 in fair order ; 2 large swords (patta) in good order ; 6 spears , 6 sticks repaired.

In his statement before the First Class Magistrate Wasudev evaded the questions put to him about this entry ; he admitted that he saw that the weapons mentioned went in the cart, but he said that Pilaji Ramoshi of Loni and the cartman (whom he did not know) "took the arms, and the cart went to Loni Khand."

4. It was at this place Loni Khand (a village 12 miles from Poona on the Nagar Road) that Wasudev first started his enterprise. As to how his connections with that village came about there is no evidence, but it will appear from the sequel that the members of the "Sindia" branch of the hereditary Patels of that village were his supporters there. There is some evidence of what took place at Loni Khand, although it is not as satisfactory as it might be..... In the Dhamari case:—

(1) *Hanmanta Trimbak,* a Maratha, said he was invited to a meeting in the field of Janrao bin Bajaji Sindia and Bajaji bin Janrao Sindia (father and son) on the night of the day after Shiwratra (21st February) and that he went ; that there were 50 or

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* Vide evidence of More Babaji in Dhamari case.

60 people there who were cooking food (Bajaji bin Janrao Sindia amongst them); that Janrao bin Bajaji *and four Brahmins came there,* one of whom was Ganesh Krishna (otherwise known as Ganu Deodhar); *that one of the Brahmins asked the people what they wanted, and Janku, Dowlata and Piraji (three Ramoshis) said "if you give us arms and money we will rise;" that the Brahmin, learning that there were only 50 or 60 men, said that was not enough,* that he had only come to see them and had not money or arms, but would return to Poona and fetch what was wanted, *and then they would go to Khed, take the arms of the police and kill them*: that Janku and Dowlata asked how they were to support themselves in the meantime, and the Brahmin said "this old man Sindia (i.e. Janrao bin Bajaji) will see to that", and that Ganu Dewdhar and the other Brahmins then went off towards Poona.

(2) Ganu Raghoji, a Kunbi and a pardoned accomplice in the Dhamari dacoity, stated that the Brahmin who had invited him and others to enter his service and gave them money, came again at Shiwaratra to Janrao bin Babaji's field in Loni Khand; that he and others went there at night to the meeting when they met about 50 people; that there was a dinner; that after the dinner *four Brahmins* (including the first mentioned Brahmin) came saying they came from Poona and told them to meet again next night at Chinchosi hill; and that the original Brahmins and others (Ramoshis) said they were to go to Dhamari to rob.

5. I understand that the above is the only direct evidence obtainable as to the proceedings at Loni Khand. Three of the accused in the Dhamari case confessed and made the statements similar to the above as to what occurred at Loni Khand. One of these was the Brahmin Ganu Dewdhar, a student, aged 20. He was sentenced to one month's imprisonment which he has undergone and has since disappeared from Poona. *The other two are still in prison and might PERHAPS GIVE EVIDENCE AGAINST WASUDEV.* But the evidence from Wasudev's own writing on this point is very explicit. In his Diary for the 20th February (Thursday) he wrote:—

"As people were to assemble at Loni on Tursday I went there in the evening. On arrival there at night Bapu Saheb*, Ganpatrao, and Sitaram Gokak.

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* The same witness as is mentioned above (paragraph 1, (6).

"Leaving Sitaram and Gopalrao‡ there, I started about 3 a.m. for Poona."

And on the 21st he wrote:—

"To-day having procured a cart about 12 o'clock went again to Loni and remained there the night. Vishnu Pant Gadhre accompanied me".

In the Autobiography is the following passage (p. 24):—

"*I have expended money and given a feast at which from 100 to 125 persons were present. From this I concluded that if so many collected this day I should obtain many more hereafter, and if they lost much money, still it would be repaid. Having thus resolved I gave one man with them to prevent their separating.* On the next night on inspecting them some of the old men and some new in all 40 persons only—were present, and on the third day we looted Dhamari.

6. The date of Wasudev's having left his duty at the Military Finance office corresponds entirely with the foregoing evidence. On the 21st February 1879 he wrote a note to the Superintendent saying he was "sorry to inform him that he was sick with sever cold and headache, and consequently unable to attend the office." I understand that up to the evening of the previous day he was absent on eight day's casual leave.

7. The object with which Wasudev assembled these men at Loni Khand and gave them a dinner is not very clear from the evidence of the witnesses. The Ramoshis probably thought of nothing more than the chance of loot which he promised them, and it is quite likely that he did not divulge fully what his intentions were, although there was evidently some thing said about "rising" and "robbing the treasury at Khed" and "killing the police-guard and taking their arms". But in his Autobiography (pp. 21-4) Wasudev has fully explained what his purpose was. He wrote:—

"*Having obtained Rs. 5,000 from a Sawkar I proposed to send to all sides three or four men a month in advance that small gangs might be raised by them from which great fear would come to*

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* Daji Sindia (?)
†Ganesh Krishna Dewdhar.
‡ Gopal Hari Karwe, Wasudev's cook.

the English. The mails would be stopped, and the railway and telegraph interrupted, so that no information could go from one place to another. Then the jails would be opened and all the long sentenced prisoners would join me because if the English Government remained they would not get off. If I obtained 200 men, even should I not be able to loot the treasury I should carry out my intention of releasing criminals. How many and where the military were would not be known, and thus thousands of ignorant people would collect. This would be good and my intention carried out.

"*But to us good (respectable) people it is difficult to obtain money and how can it be got for such a purpose, because they have no thought (for the future). In their hearts they wish the English Government to go but you must not ask money.*

"*When a child is born it is as a drop of water; when he grows up he can carry out his desires, but when only one year or five can he do it? So with a 'BAND' even though it be small if the foundation is good it shall grow big and conquer a government. There is much ill-feeling among the people and now if a few make a commencement those who are hungry will join. Many men are inclined to begin, and the result will be good.*

"*Therefore*" he adds "I have expended money and given a feast," etc., (*see* quotation above para 5).

8. It thus appears that being unable to obtain a loan of money for his purposes Wasudev thought to procure what he wanted by committing dacoites and looting the treasury at Khed. This object quite suited the taste of the Ramoshis, and accordingly a start was made the next morning. In his Diary for 22nd February (Saturday) Wasudev wrote:—

"Got up early and taking with me about 12 men went and put up in a ravine near Kanoba's temple, a short distance from Chinchosi. When I got here we were only 8 men and we remained here until evening.....

"At night went to Kanoba's temple..... That night having all assembled there (Kanoba's temple) we wished to go by the light of torches but were prevented owing to being unable to procure ghee (i.e., for the torches). On this account our work was not done.

And for the 23rd (Sunday) the entry is as follows :—

"Rising early went and halted in another ravine in the small hills. Bread and rice were brought from Chinchosi, Rewirao* of Loni's daughter, who was at Chinchosi, prepared the food for two days. She was very kind to us therefore she should be rewarded. At 5 p.m. we climbed to the top of the hills and at dusk went near to the temple of Kanoba. At night about 7 o'clock we, in all about 45 men, went to Dhamari. Forty-two men entered the village and all the inhabitants fled. We broke into nearly all the shops but did not get much property. We brought away some valuable clothing."

On the next day, 24th February (Monday), there is the following entry :—

"On inspecting the loot next morning there were about 8 seers of broken silver and cash Rs. 95. We burnt all the wearing apparel which was worth about Rs. 200. *The rupees and silver I sent away, the former for the purchase of arms.*"

In his Autobiography (pp. 24 and 25) he wrote : —

"I obtained in this loot about Rs. 400. The gold, etc., I believe the Ramoshis made away with. At least I judge so from what I learnt of their acts afterwards, and I am certain that from the beginning they cheated me."

9. From the further entries for this day (24th February) in the Diary and from the part of the Autobiography which relates to this time (pp. 25-27), it appears that Wasudev and his party were discovered in the hills and attacked by the Police. According to Wasudev's account the police fired on them and they returned the fire, and the police went off. Several villagers also appeared and Wasudev feared that the hill was being surrounded, and that they would all be killed. His party consisted then of "only 18 men, of whom only 5 or 6 were fighting-men" (Autobiography p. 26) : but subsequently 4 of the villagers came towards them and warned them that on the morrow the cavalry were coming after them. "I seized these 4 men", writes Wasudev (Diary) "and told my men to take the others who had remained behind. Accordingly, having made them prisoners they were coming along with us but they were let go half

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*One of the Sindia family.

way and I had less fear." I understand that nothing is known of the men who were thus arrested and let go again, and that no evidence will be procurable on this point.

10. After this Wasudev and his party descended from the hills and went to Dhaori, where it was their "*intention to collect arms* and money, but owing to the village-gates being shut they left and came to Loni Khand (Diary of 24th February); on their way to Dhaori they fell in with some villagers, and *Wasudev says he spoke to them a good deal that they might trust him. I said you must tell all your relations, and have no fear and understand that the day of comfort for the ryots has come. They agreed to all this,*" and brought them milk and curds.

11. In Loni Khand Wasudev says he lay concealed three days to evade the police who were making inquiries in that same village (Diary of 25th-27th February). It was in the upstairs room of "Nana Saheb*" *alias* "Bhao" that he was accommodated the first night and day and also, it seems, the second night. On the third night he and his companions Vishnupant†, Gopalrao‡ and Lakshuman were transferred to the house of a Maratha, but the people of the house turned them out on the arrival of the Chief Constable in the village. The entry in the Diary for the 24th February closes with the following:—

'In that village (i.e., Loni Khand) there are certain respectable rich men named "Nana Saheb§" *alias* "Bhao Saheb" and "Rewirao§". When we became friends they never once hesitated to give me and my people every assistance. Their families are also very good people, *When the time comes the highest reward must be given to them.* In this Autobiography, however, Wasudev being evidently anxious to screen these people, after stating that a Mali of Loni had given information to the police and that thus "*all his arrangement of destroying the Government was spoilt*", goes to say (p. 26)—

"There (at Loni) a certain Nana Saheb, Bapu Saheb and Rewirao were living, and to prove that they were the leaders of the gang the statements of their enemies and some Ramoshis were taken down, but these persons had no communication with me. From fear, however, they ran away."

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* Sindia.
† Vishnu Vinayak Gadhre.
‡ Gopalrao Hari Karwe.
§ Both Sindias.

12. When turned out of the Maratha's house on the night of the 27th February, Wasudev took the road to the Ramadarra jungle and reached there before sunrise. "Twenty-three men", he says (Diary for 28th February), "accompanied me, and the others were behind." On the following night they proceeded to the Malharghar or Sonori Fort, and on the night of the 1st March slept under the Fort. On March 2nd, Dowlatrao joined Wasudev and that night they went to the temple of Doleshwar, where they remained till the night of the 4th *obtaining by purchase from other villages to which Wasudev sent men for the purpose, four guns.* On the night of the 4th they went to Jijori, and the next night looted Walleh. *Here they obtained five swords* from a Mang's house, and about Rs. 300 in cash, and aboot Rs. 100 in clothes, etc. Afterwards they made a long circuit and came to the Pangarra jungle, where during the next day Wasudev distributed to each man Rs. 10. On the morning of the 7th March Wasudev was under Purandhar hill and here, he says, *he was visited by several persons with whom he was in treaty to procure men for him.* On the morning of the 8th he repaired to a large ravine called "Wagdarra" near the Kolis' Wada.

13. In this ravine Wasudev remained till the 12th March, *making overtures to the kolis of "Hiwalwada" and "Bhairwada."* (*two Koli hamlets*) *in order to induce them to join him.* He underwent many privations and his gang was reduced to only 15 men (Diary of 10th March) *but he held on in the hope that he would obtain about 100 men* (*Diary of 9th March*). In his Autobiography (p. 27) Wasudev thus describes his feelings and thoughts at about this time :—

"Seeing what had occurred in the last 10 days I began to consider what all this would end in, and how I could accomplish anything with such people (Ramoshis) who on committing a dacoity first of all rob and make away with the booty and then bully for their share of the division, after which they are anxious to return to their homes at once. *Under such circumstances how can 200 men be collected? What has God done? If I had assembled 200 men I would have looted the Khed treasury and got much money, as at this time the revenue was being collected, and had I got more money I could have got the assistance of 500 horses.* Through poverty no one possesses horses. If I had got horsemen they would have been good men, not deceitful like the Ramoshis..... They fear to go before guns, and have great avarice of money. When we looted Walleh we were 29 in all, and I then understood that by such men my intentions could not be carried out, but there was nothing for it but to remain with them. I hoped

to have obtained 40 or 50 men, as up to this time none of those who had gone to their homes had fallen into the hands of the police. For this reason I remained in this district. I distributed Rs. 300 to my men and they promised to return after taking the money to their homes, and only 15 of us remained. We got no new men, and of those who had gone to their homes 3 or 4 did not return."

14. "After this", writes Wasudev in his Autobiography (p. 29), "I looted Harne". Harne is in the Punt Sahiv's territory, and Wasudev went there from the ravine on Purandhar hill on the 14th March and looted the place the same day. Here he obtained about Rs. 50 worth of property consisting of dates, ground-nuts, ghee, etc. (*vide* Diary of 14th March, and Autobiography, p. 29) in the former there is the following :—

"It is worth mentioning that the wife of a Bania who was seen was so fat and strong that I had never seen a woman like her before. Many times the men took her hands and tried to drag her along but could not move her from the place. She was beaten much but would not move from the place where she was sitting, and under which she had property buried. She spoke nothing but abuse and, therefore, was beaten."

If this woman can be produced there will be very strong evidence that Wasudev was personally present at the Harne dacoity.

15. On the next day, 15th March, Magdarri was looted, but the people had anticipated the attack and concealed all their valuables, and when the gang arrived outside the village fired on them and attacked them but eventually fled. The gang got nothing, however, in this dacoity. So, at least, Wasudev writes in his Autobiography (p. 29). Thence the gang went and passed the night in a ravine near Kondunpur Wada and on the 17th proceeded to Kharakwasla and concealed themselves in the hills there. From here it had been intended to go to "Airas Wada", but a Koli by name Dowlata came to see Wasudev. "*We talked, as customary, abusing the English people and kindly of our own people*" writes Wasudev (Diary for 17th March), and then he changed his mind about going to Airas Wada and determined to go to Dowlata's Wada instead. On the 18th accordingly the gang went to a ravine near Dowlata's house and Wasudev, taking the name of "Guru Maharaj," went to his house. The night was passed by all the gang at Amrinath's temple. Next day (19th) Wasudev was much troubled. He writes in his diary :—

"I prayed very much. As difficulties are coming upon me one after another I prayed to God and asked why this should be, and how I could gain my end. One day one man absconded. Next day two ran away. On the third day Keshvrao* was Wounded in the hand by a bullet and two men are gone with him. Lakshman Doura was bitten by a snake. Raghu Chovka bolted to Poona. *If this goes on how is my purpose to be accomplished?* In the next place there is no Vishnu† Pant and Abba†. Owing to this I have no appetite."

16. On the 20th March it was determined to loot Sonapur, but Wasudev writes : "A Ramoshi gave information that we were coming and, therefore, all the people ran away and we got nothing" (Diary for 20th March). This is, however, contradicted in the Diary for the next day and also in the Autobiography (p. 30), for it seems that the men were searched in the morning for the night's loot and that all rupees of copper coins and about Rs. 20 worth of property were found on them.

17. The 21st March was spent at Warasgaon, 4 miles from Sonepur, and on the 22nd Wasudev determined to go himself to Poona in search of Vishnupant. He started with one man and went first to Aira's Wada where they were to have met, but obtaining no information there he went on to Khondwa and subsequently followed two wayfarers to Nandair passing himself off as a clerk in the Forest Department. At Nandair he discovered the Ramoshis' houses, and speaking to them in their own language ascertained that Vishnupant and Abba had been arrested by the Patel and Kulkarnis of Airas when they returned from Poona with the things they went for, but that "two or three wise men came and said if you apprehend them the gang will just come and kill you and your family," and that they had, therefore, let them go again. This intelligence caused Wasudev change his mind about going to Poona and on the early morning of the 23rd (Sunday) he went to Singhar. On the road he writes (Diary for 23rd March) : "I saw 25 military and 3 savars going along, and this party was in pursuit of us." From Singhar he went the same day to Ghore, and slept there that night in the temple of Jug Chamya.

18. On the 24th March Wasudev appears to have come in contact for the first time with Dhangars. In his diary for that day he wrote :—

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* This was at Mangdarri.

† These two had left the gang on the 17th March to go to Poona "for some-things, and to learn what was going on" and were to have rejoined it at Airas Wada.

"Getting up early left for Mootya and came to the river, one Ganoba Palka of Potewada and 5 or 6 others met me. *After speaking against the English which was to their liking, and calling their attention to the way in which they had been, as it were, drowned* and pointing out their present state, they said they would give some 7 or 8 men, and if I came to Kondwa village that night they would give assistance. After this I commenced climbing the hills that I might meet men at the appointed place. My people had sent two Dhangars on the road to look out for me because the military party had reached Warasgaon and, therefore, the Dhangars had shifted my gang some four miles further off and had promised that in the event of the military coming up above they would place me in a *plana* (a kind of Palkhi) and convey me as though I was one of their sick people to where the gang were.

"On reaching their place the Dhangars gave me curds at which I was much pleased. *They took much trouble about me and treated me as one belonging to a royal family, and considered that as I was knocking about from place to place to destroy the English hereafter they would obtain some reward. In this hope they took much trouble about me and my men.*"

"A Ramoshi and Mhar with four others of the Government people came searching about for the dacoit gang; and in the evening descended the hill (one of them had a gun) and went into the village of the Patel who was supplying us with food. It was our intention to seize and hang these six people but they did not remain, and if we had gone below to catch them, the Dhangars would have got into trouble because they had concealed the gang; therefore without taking any steps in this matter we remained in the jungle."

And in this Diary for the 25th March is the following passage :—

"I have seen men of many castes but for honesty and trustworthiness none are equal to the Dhangars. If they once deny they will stick to it to the end. *As they have done much for us, when my time comes the Land for these hills is ready for them and whatever Kunbis are in the hills shall be turned out.* Dowlata told them *'if you bring us and the Maharaj together when we have succeeded in our business, we will give in Inam four Chouras of land.'* Therefore they had searched for me from morning until evening."

19. On the evening of the 25th March Wasudev received information that the police were close upon them and that the military had

occupied all the passes, and he and his gang were therefore conducted by their informant, one "Wagdarra", in the night across country to Panukora. "On the road," writes Wasudev (Diary of 25th March), "*there was a chowkey of the English and I wished to attack it*, but the people with me said they would run away," and as they did not know the roads about there, and out of his men there were only ten who were brave enough of fight, Wasudev abandoned his wish. On the 26th and 27th the gang wandered amongst the hills receiving much assistance from the Dhangars who also, it seems, supplied them with guides. On the morning of the 28th they came to Dakkan in the Pant Sachiv's territory, and were supplied with food by the Patel of that village. Thence they proceeded to Nanagaum where also they were supplied with provisions by the Patel for two days. With regard to the people of this place Wasudev writes in his Diary of 29th March—

"*As I had spoken to all the people before, so I lectured the people here. We on being born small children cannot lift a "Kuja" holding two maunds of water, but a man of 25 years can lift it. If you wish that a child of 25 years should be born: can it be? So our state at present is just like this. We are small, and in the same way as parents take care of their children when cough, fever and sickness come, if you will take care of us, the English having been destroyed by our hands, you will have confort,* but if you will not rear and take care of us as you are now suffering by the English so they will even dig up your children. *Haranguing and giving them examples* they became convinced and said to us come here whenever you will you may remain in these forests without fear".

20. On the night of the 29th March the gang went to Sawargaon, here Wasudev says they "asked for money but none gave it, but on beating them procured Rs. 200. The women offered their ornaments but I refused to take them." This is evidently the incident alluded to in Wasudev's Autobiography (p. 30)—

"From one Kunbi we took Rs. 200 fine, of which we paid Rs. 50 to the man who pointed out the house and with the other Rs. 150 we left the Pant Sachiv's country."

But on the same night it appears from the Diary that the gang went to Adichorl. The proceedings here will be best described in Wasudev's own words (Diary of 29th March)—

"Inquiried for the Banyas. The people who were sleeping there

said they had gone to another village. Threatening them we then seized the Revenue and Police Patels and inquiring of them, one of them said 'as I got some tobacco from him this evening he must be in the village'. Before this I had said to my men they should cut the people's noses as they were telling lies. In the meantime the two Patels came and we began to search for the Banyas and eventually found them both sleeping under the verandah of a house. They were seized and brought but refused to give anything although we beat them much, and at length one of my men, Pandya, cut one of their ears and injured his nose. Even then they agreed to nothing. At one time they said they would point out their money, but afterwards changed. These Banyas had oppressed the people so much that many came forward and said if you will revenge us we shall be much pleased. Attending to what the people asked I burnt all the papers, etc., of these Banyas."

After this the gang went to Dakkan hill, and put up there in front of the Dhangar's Wari. "Before climbing this hill", writes Wasudev, "I gave the Ramoshis a present of Rs. 50." On the following night they started for Chandker, but the road was bad, and they had to sleep at the foot of the pass near "Oosarna." On the night of the 31st they looted Chandkher and afterwards started off for Mowsi Kuran, which Gopal Hari Karwe (his cook) and he did not reach till the evening of the 1st April. Both men were apparently much knocked up "Gopalrao's feet ached" and "I got fever and my feet were blistered and my toes twisted to one side."

21. On arrival amongst his men at this place, Mowsi, "I found," writes Wasudev (Diary for 1st April) "there was a quarrel and Dowlatrao said those who have got property are wishing to go away with it." I went and sat down, and when I made inquiry for certain ornaments I knew they had. They stated they had divided them. When asked they refused to give up anything, and on this I said to myself 'what can be accomplished with such people'. Many thoughts came into my head and we proceeded at night to Waswas and slept under a wild fig tree." Further details are given in the Autobiography (page 30) of the disputes about the loot. "Here" he wrote, i.e., at Chandkher "all the men wanted to do me out of the Rs. 150 (i.e. the balance of the Rs. 200 taken from the Kunbi at Sawargaon (*Vide* above paragraph 20)" and clamoured for its being divided, and on counting Rs. 115 only were found with those who had care of it. On inquiry the men said there had been a mistake in counting in the dark the first time, but Dowlata declared he had counted Rs. 200 correctly. I then understood how

these men cheated. That night we looted Chandkher, but I don't know how much property was obtained, and coming from there, owing to their stupidity, we had to sleep on the way and reached Mowsi on the second evening. Dowlata, whom I trusted, said to me that no one would give up anything and that 3 or 4 Ramoshis got lot of property. Asking them what had become of certain things we knew they had got, they said they had divided them. I bore this in my mind and was angry and thought who can tell how many days it will go on. I remained there that day and they went to Warra and all were for returning to their homes. After dividing the money I had about Rs. 20 only left, and some small change."

22. Disappointed in his hopes and angry and disgusted with the Ramoshis the only class of men he had succeeded in getting to join him in any considerable number, Wasudev at last forsook his gang and went away to Poona. On the 2nd April he writes in his Diary : "Getting up early had my food and reached Poona in the evening". Here he went to the house of "a friend" and learnt that he was being much inquired for and that it was unsafe for him to remain. So he writes (Autobiography 32) "I determined to go and pray at the shrine of Shri Shela Malik Arjun, and if my prayer was not heard, destroy myself". That night he slept at the temple of Ganpati in Bhawani Pet, and next morning (3rd April) walked down the Sholapur road to Oorooli. "On the road" he says (Diary of 3rd April) "I sold such loot as I had with me and broke up the original articles". From Oorooli (the next station but one to Poona on the way to Sholapur) he proceeded by train to Dudne (the third station beyond Sholapur), and thence went to Gangapur. At Gangapur he remained three days and on the morning of the 7th April started for Shahabad, and from there took the train on the 8th idem to the Krishna river. From his date the Diary ceases to furnish any intelligible information. From 9th to 13th April certain names of villages (those probably which Wasudev passed through) are given, but after that there is no entry till the 17th May, when he writes : "My health is not good. Up to to-day remained at Mandanur then came to Bukatlus". One other entry on the 18th May, which is of no importance concludes the Diary.

23. At page 32 of the Autobiography Wasudev states that he reached Shri Shela on the 4th April, but this is probaly a mistake for the 14th April. At any rate he was at that shrine on the 19th April, for the first part of his Autobiography (pages 1-8) was written there on that date, and the remaining portion of it was written between the 20th and 26th idem.

24. The history of the proceedings of Wasudev between the 22nd February and the 19th April 1879, which has been narrated in the foregoing paragraph 8-23, is taken entirely from his own writings (his Diary and his Autobiography). I understand that there is abundant evidence obtainable to prove that each of the dacoities and other acts of violence which have been described was actually committed, but that no witnesses can be produced who will be able to say that Wasudev himself was present on any one of these occasions. Wasudev has, however, himself admitted before the First Class Magistrate that he was present.

25. Of the four Brahmins, who appear to have been concerned with Wasudev in the misdeeds of these two months—

(1) Ganesh Krishna Dewhar, a youth of 20 years, and a student, who went no further than to be present at the meeting of Loni Khand, was convicted on his own confession in the Dhamari case of being a member of an unlawful assembly, and considering that he was recommended by the Jury to mercy, was sentenced to one month's rigorous imprisonament only.

(2) Sitaram Aya Gokak, also a young man, who was at the meeting at Loni Khand, and apparently remained with the gang until they were turned out of the Maratha's house in that village on the night of the 27th February (*vide* above paragraph 12 and Wasudev's Diary pages 1, 2, 3, 10, 30 and 32) has not yet been arrested.

(4) Gopal Hari Karwe, Wasudev's cook, who appears to have been with the gang all through until Wasudev came into Poona on the 2nd April, has not yet been arrested. It will be seen hereafter (below paragraph 30) that he was with Wasudev at Shri Shela and at Ghanur.

26. On the 19th April at the Shrine of Shri Shela Malik Arjun, in the Karnul District, Wasudev began to write his Autobiography. In the portion of it purpotring to be written on that day, after recounting (pages 2 and 3) *the evil endured under the English Government he wrote* :

" Therefore after having prayed to Shela Parvatti, if I obtain not my wish I will take my life, because after so long a time striving I have not been able to fulfil my wishes. I made this resolve at Poona on the 10th* Chitra Shud. Regarding this I have at many

* 2nd April 1879 (*vide* above paragraph 22).

places met several good men and asked them. Having prayed and having spent much money I made every endeavour to accomplish what was in my mind, but with no result. I have not applied the forehead mark for the last five years. Having hung the mendicant's bag over my shoulder and allowed my hair to grow long I went to Nasik, Nagar, Khandesh, Berar, Nagpur, Indore, Ooojein, Kolhapur, Tasgaon, Miraj, Sangli, Baroda, etc.; and strove hard. Three times† I took leave and once I went without leave, *and now having left the service I have caused dacoities in order that having collected money I may entertain men. A child being born does not at once become grown up, but grows little by little. Understanding this I commenced with dacoity * * * * Finding there is no success to be obtained in this world, I having gone to the world above should plead on behalf of the people of India"* * * * (p. 7)

"My life alone will not be given thus, but thousands of others will be killed for I was not alone in this affair. One person cannot manage a whole family then how is a State to be managed by one? Bearing this in mind I commenced this work but the result has not been good, therefore, having come here I have engaged in prayer."

27. In recommencing the Autobiography on the 20th April, Wasudev wrote—

"I have only seven days to live, so I think therefore I bow before the feet of all you my brethren, inhabitants of India, and give up my life for you and will remain pleading for you in the just Court of God.* * * * *I pray to God that he may take my life as a sacrifice for your welfare, and of you all I take farewell (pp. 8, 9).*

The next portion of the writing which deals with Wasudev's life from his birth till A.D. 1871 (pp. 9-18) is a plain simple history of his childhood and youth, and of his first experiences in official work.

The next portion (pp. 18-32) deals with the acts which he committed between the 22nd February and 2nd April 1879, and with the reasons which led him to them, and from this portion sufficient quotations have already been made in the foregoing part of this Memo. At p. 33, after alluding to all the hardships he had endured when out with the Ramoshis, he continues—

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* 2nd April 1879 (*vide* above paragraph 22).

† *Note.*—Wasudev's Service Book shows that he had 94 days' sick leave in 1870, 58 days' ditto in 1876, and that he was absent on leave on private affairs from 9th December 1877 to 10th March 1878.

"*Hereafter if men could be obtained at all events we could destroy the railway, and owing to this thousands of people would get fed.* Now they (i.e., the Railway Company) are getting much money, hereafter, if owing to the damage I do, the rate is raised so-called wise people may say I have done bad work. If in a lakh of people one in a thousand was wise I should not be in this predicament."

And at the conclusion he wrote (p. 35)—

"I have done many things (loots, &c.) but owing to an attack of fever during the last 3 days my mind is wandering, therefore, I take leave. Tomorrow (Saturday, 26th April) is the last day, and I am therefore bowing down and taking leave of the people of India.

To-day (Saturday) I am so bad with fever I cannot speak ; there is one man* in this work with me, tomorrow having sent him away I am going * * * * * * *

"Here the fields are irrigated by the English. Supplies for two months were given day by day to our people by which they were fed. Having given food they preserved their lives, then for a year there was no necessity to bring food from outside. Here the water is four cubits deep, but the makers of their name (the English) make show of bringing food and feeding the people and at the same time take ten, *being bad, hard-hearted, devourers of people. Up to death I will not let them rest.* Many such things come in my head, but owing to fever I cannot write. Ram! Ram! ".

28. This last part of the Autobiography perhaps betokens a somewhat disordered mind, but the remainder of the document is singularly clear and lucid, and its correctness is strikingly confirmed by the Diary.

29. How long Wasudev remained ill of fever, or when he left Shri Shela is not certain, but from the statement of Raghunath Moreshwar Bhat, taken by Major Daniell at Hyderabad on the 31st July, it appears that he returned to Ghanur (called by people of Poona Gangapur) about 2 months after he left it, as stated in his Diary (*vide* above paragraph 22) on the 7th April.

30. This man Raghunath Moreshwar Bhat says he made Wasudev's acquaintance 2 or 2½ years ago when he was living at Berdol

*This was probably Gopal Hari Karwe, Wasudev's cook (see below paragraph 30).

(a place on the way between Dhadne station and Ghanur), and Wasudev who was passing through as a traveller put up with him. Six months afterwards he says he stayed with Wasudev for one night in his house in Poona. Wasudev in his statement before the First Class Magistrate on the 27th August 1879 corroborated this account of their acquaintance. Raghunath says he next saw Wasudev when he came to Ghanur in "March" last (it was really in the early part of April, *vide* above paragraph 22) when he stayed two nights and a day in his house and then went on to Shri Shela Malik Arjun where, he said, "there were a lot of Bhills whom he would get to assist him".* Raghunath also says that a young Brahmin named Gopalrao accompanied Wasudev and that he returned 40 or 50 days afterwards alone to Ghanur and was followed in a few days by Wasudev. This Gopalrao (who) was no doubt Wasudev's cook, and constant companion, Gopal Hari Karwe was, Raghunath says, very sick and Wasudev a few days after his return from Shri Shela engaged a cart and sent him off in it go to Poona by rail from Gudur station.

31. The following is a summary of Raghunath's account of Wasudev's doings at Ghanur :—

Raghunath was living in lodgings and could not put Wasudev up and therefore the latter put Wasudev up and therefore the latter put up in the village temple. [There are two temples dedicated to Dattatraya in Ghanur, one in the village and the other within the village-limits on the bank of the Bhima river at the "Sangam" (water-meet)]. He was there only for two or three days when he went to the temple at the Sangam and lay there 10 or 12 days too ill to move. Raghunath received copies of Poona newspaper, the Dnyan Chakshu, in which he used to read accounts of Wasudev's proceedings with the Ramoshis and subsequently of the killing of Dowlatrao by Major Daniell, of the fires at Poona, etc., and he communicated what he read to Wasudev who from the first took him into his confidence and admitted that he had been out with the Ramoshis and grieved over Dowlatrao's death but did not avow any concern in the Poona fires. Raghunath, knowing that a reward of Rs. 3,000 was offered for Wasudev's apprehension kept his secret and became his accomplice. When Wasudev first came to Ghanur (in April) he made Raghunath some small presents and said, "*if you will give me 200 men I will not go to Shri Shela but will go back towards Poona*". At the end of the 10 or 12 days at

Note.—This part of Raghunath's statement is entirely unconfirmed. Wasudev himself denied it before the First Class Magistrae, and there is no mention of any such intention in the Diary or Autobiography. Further it has been ascertained that there are no Bhills in the neighbourhood of Shri Shela.

the Sangam Wasudev got better and returned to the village temple where he was known as the "Kashikar Bhawa". *He then asked Raghunath to see if he could get men to join him so that he might go back towards Poona.* Raghunath applied to—

(1) Ismael Khan Rohilla, and (2) Musli Mahilgiri, a Lingayat Wani. *He brought Wasudev and the former together at Annur, a place near Ghanur, and an agreement was drawn up by him (Raghunath) in Marathi "that Ismael Khan was to supply men at Rs. 10 per mensem each, and their food, to Wasudev, and was to receive Rs. 15 per mensem himself." Raghunath signed the agreement and gave it to Wasudev who gave it to Ismael Khan.*

Raghunath also asked one Sanyasi Koli to supply men to Wasudev, and he made a verbal agreement to do so. He also asked one Satya Jangam of Telur to provide 50 men for Wasudev, but wished to see Wasudev before agreeing.

In the meantime Major Daniell's spies arrived at Ghanur, and Raghunath assisted Wasudev to keep out of their way and conceal himself. And when Major Daniell arrived and the village was surrounded he told his mother to bring Wasudev's *daftar*. She took and threw some of it into the river ; some maps and whatever else remained, Raghunath handed over to Major Daniell. Amongst the documents thown by the mother into the River *were three or four proclamations* offering a reward Rs. 10,000 or 5,000 for Governor's head with a sliding scale of rewards for lesser Europeans. Wasudev had also engaged the Patwari (Kulkarni) of Ghanur, Ramchandra Hanmant, on Rs. 100 per month as Accountant, but the appointment was not to commence until men were enlisted.*

Raghunath went to Gudur the day before Major Daniell arrived at Ghanur. The next day when he returned at 1 p.m. he found Wasudev had left. He had told the Rohillas he was going to Poona to get money to pay them, but Raghunath believed he intended to make for the Godavery towards Nasik. Wasudev had previously wanted to send a man to Poona to arrange for having all the proceeds of the dacoities sent to him.

32. Sataya bin Kuntaya, Lingayat, Jangam, and Mailgiri bin Sharnappa, Lingayat Wani, who were examined by Major Daniell on the

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* Before the First Class Magistrate, Wasudev admitted having written these proclamations but denied that they were ever published. There is no proof that they were

1st August, both admitted (Statements Nos. XII and XIII) that Raghunath asked them to supply men but the former said that he replied that he could not undertake to supply any, whilst the latter said that he expressed his inability to get as many as 100 men, and that Raghunath did not tell him what the men were wanted for. Chatur *alias* Sanyasi bin Eomanna Koli made a statement (No. II) before Major Daniell on the 30th July in which he admitted that Raghunath had asked him to supply 100 armed Kolis at Rs. 10 each and that he consented but did nothing further.

33. Ismael Khan a Rohilla whose home is in the *Peshawar District, admitted the agreement with Ragunath (Statement No. VI), but said he had torn it up before he* heard of Wasudev's *arrest.* He denied that Raghunath told him the men were wanted for fighting purposes. But other persons who were present when the agreement was drawn up, viz., Janoji (No. II), Shek Shabudin (No. IV), Syed Hussen Khan (No. VII), Hussen Khanwalad Sher Khan (No. VII), Shek Sondu (No. IX), and Shekh Hussen (No. X), all confirmed Raghunath's statement and leave no doubt that Ismael Khan agreed to supply men and set about engaging them, and that he was well aware that the object was as one of these witnesses (No. II) expresses it, *"to join a 'BAND' to commit depredations in British territory".*

34. *Wasudev in his statement of 27th August, before the First class Magistrate, admitted that he was at Annur with Raghunath, and that Raghunath there gave "written instruction" to a Rohilla, whose name he (Wasudev) did not know, "probably to enlist men", but denied that he had seen the document.*

35. Amongst the papers which Raghunath gave up to the police was a *letter of introduction given by one Bhaskar Jotishi of Benares, an astrologer, to Wasudev addressed to* Moulvi Mahomed Saheb in Hydrabad. It had been given by Bhaskar to Wasudev when the latter was at Karnul, and Wasudev gave it to Raghunath to take care of till he should go to Hyderabad. Bhaskar Jotishi has been arrested at Benares, but nothing has been ascertained as to his antecedents to show that he has even been mixed up in any reasonable proceedings. Sir Richard Meade has been unable to obtain any certain information—still less proof—of the relations between Bhaskar and Moulvi Mohomed, but he states that the latter is a man with much influence and many friends, and that people seem to fear speaking about him. Wasudev has stated before the First Class Magistrate that he intended to go to Hyderabad, as he "had a letter to a great man there and wanted to go to get

employment". A perusal of the document would seem, however, to show that the purpose of the introduction was by no means so innocent as Wasudev would wish it to appear. Bhaskar wrote in it as follows:—

"At present I am in the district of Karnul and wish to go soon to Benar ;* here I met this man. When I was in Poona he met me ten or twenty times. In these visits I came to know of his condition and circumstances in a great many ways. *I have not come across any man among lacs of people who is anxious to such an extent to have his country Hindusthan in prosperity as this man is.* Out of 1,000 or 5,000 men he is brave, competent, and mortifies the flesh, and very few persons can be found who come up to him in the ways of the observance of our Hindu religion. *He knows the working of Government offices both in Marathi and English.* You being a very influential man in Hyderabad, and an appreciator of merit, he has an ardent desire to see you. *He has spent thousands of rupees of his own on the worldly affairs of the people. Knowing that by a visit to you some way of ensuring prosperity may arise, he has come."*

36. In order to bring this Memo. to a conclusion it is only necessary to add that the day spoken of by Raghunath (above paragraph 31) as that on which Major Daniell arrived at Ghanur, was the 20th July. Wasudev had then left Ghanur, but he was pursued night and day unremittingly by Major Daniell and Mr. Abdul Hak, Police Commissioner to His Highness the Nizam, until they came across him asleep in a temple in the village of Dever Nadigi, in the Kaladgi District, at 3 a.m. of the 21st idem, and arrested him along with the only companion who was travelling with him, one Gopal Moreshwar Gairsis.

J. R. NAYLOR,
Legal Remembrancer.

27th September 1879.

TRANSLATION OF THE DIARY OF WASUDEV BALWANT PHADKEY

(From Bombay Gazette of 1st November 1879)

15th February 1879

Lakshuman of Kondwa was sent to Kooshaba, Patel of Poorundar, 4 Annas.

16th February

Lukshuman Dhavda, having returned, said that Khooshaba asks me to come on the day of Shivratri, to Poorundar.

18th February

Lakshuman 0-2-9

5 Sticks for Spears 0-10-0

Lakshuman Kondwakur was sent to Shitaram Gokaka at Baneshwar, with a letter stating—"On receipt of the letter, lose no time in coming". Shitaram was praying when the letter reached him.

19th February

Lakshuman arrived and said that Shitaram would come tomorrow about the evening.

Sticks for spears 0-12-0

I repeated the message about visiting. Parashram Punt. Gave the arms and sent them off by the night train; which consist of three good and two tolerable swords, two pattas, six spears, and six sticks to be put in order.

20th February

On Thursday evening as the men were to meet us we went to Loni. Arrived at Loni in the night; afterwards Bapu Saheb, Gunputrao and Seetaram Gokak arrived. Gopalrao and Shitaram remained there, and I left for Poona at 3 a.m. in a bullock cart. This is

the first time I sat in a bullock cart after 10 years.

21st February

On Friday about 2 O'clock, the bullock cart was brought back. I sat in it and went to Loni and stayed there with Vishnu Punt Gadre.

22nd February

We got up early in the morning, I went to Kanoba's temple which is situated at Chinchoosee, close to the forest of Chinchoosee, in a cave, accompanied by 12 men (there were about eight men in the temple). I stayed till the evening. Brought some food with us from Loni, and cooked rice at the cave ; then went again at night in Kanoba's temple. Went there-came. The Fouzdar of Seroor and the mamlatdar had arrived at Pabul. It would have been better had we joined at night after returning from the temple. There was a difficulty, of ghee ; so the work was not accomplished that day.

23rd February

Got up very early in the morning ; went and hid in another cave in the very hill where food and rice for two days had been brought from Chinchoosee. This had been supplied by the daughter of Ravirao, who was a resident of Loni. We are much indebted to her for her generosity, and in lieu of gratification, she must be rewarded. At 5 we went climbing over the hill, and just as it was getting dusk we arrived at the temple of Kanoba. At 7 p.m. we went to Dhamari, accompanied by about 45 men, of whom 42 went into the village. All the villagers bolted. Almost all the shops of the village were broken open, but the loot was not very handsome. The loots consisted of merely some cash and clothes.

24th February

Early in the morning, a lump of silver was found in the booty, which weighed about 16 lbs., including Rs. 95 in cash, 5 less than 100. All the clothes were burnt amounting to Rs. 200. Money and mal (silver) was sent down. Cash was sent for purchasing arms. Rowjee Ramoshi was the cause of the falling away of the Ramooshees. When the time comes, he will be duly rewarded with the punishment he so richly deserves. The quarrel was for Rs. 25 only. Of the gang, only 15 remained. Twenty left us and went to their houses. The police came enquiring and commenced firing about the hill.

We saw them and sent out our messenger who was fired at by the police. Our men then went above them on the hill, and fired upon the police, which made the police bolt. Rs. 2 were given for the purchase of rice, and the balance, Rs. 1-4-0 for yesterday's rice, was also paid, amounting in all to Rs. 3-4-0. Bhowani was paid Rs. 5. On seeing the police, Bhowani bolted. Afterwards we ordered some men to prepare our meals. As they were preparing, we saw the policemen, which resulted in firing of both the parties. We had to fast on Monday. After climbing up the hill, we sat on one of the points, from whence we could often see the policemen. The sight of the police gave us many misgivings.

On looking towards the village, we saw people leaving. We presumed they thought of surrounding us round the hill. The whole of our body trembled, and we began to perspire, as we lost our courage. Afterwards 8 or 10 men began to come to us. We then gave ourselves up, and every one of us thought we would be killed. We thereupon made up our minds to leave all what we had, on the spot, and advance towards them taking our arms. We saw four men coming forwards : they made Ram-Ram (saluted) and said "Be prepared to-morrow, the Poona Horse is expected; to-day there is no fear". We suspected them; for they told that there was no danger of arrest to-day. We thought they meant to take us by surprise. We caught hold of them (which made the others to keep away from us), and ordered them to be taken away. They were taken with us as prisoners, and we afterwards left them half-way; which made us feel rather easy, and we began to return from the hill. Arriving at Dhavdi Nimbgaon, at the hamlet of Dhavdi, the villagers began to run as soon as they saw us. After we came down the hill, we saw four Koonbees standing about, whom we asked to come to us, with sweet words. They came; and having given them a good reception, we made them understand that we were not members of the bands of dacoits. They respected us highly when we gave them good treatment; they thought we were, no doubt, respectable people. When we explained to them minutely, they thought that we would do some good for them and then they prayed to God that they might get our favour. They then readily came to our side and said, "We will assist you and will acquaint you if the enemy should come near the village". They ordered milk and curd for us. The other surrounding villagers came and met us : we very courteously received them. They returned thanks for the kindness shown to them. We told them to publish the tidings to their friends that we were a body come for the welfare of the poor, and that their friends need not be in the least frightened. Now, let it be understood, the days have come for

the welfare of the ryots. They all acknowledge it to be so. Our intention was to collect arms and money at Dhavdi, but as the doors of the Dhavdi village were closed, we left on that very night, and arrived at Kunda Loni, where were Nana Saheb, Bhow Saheb and Ravirao. They are very obliging gentlemen, and they having conformed to our wishes became intimate friends. They were not in the least behind our wishes, and they did not disappoint even once. The members of their families are obliging and at the first opportunity, the first prize should be given to them. Dowlutrao is the first class Sirdar of the Ramoshees. Kondu Mang, a principal man in the Mangs; Shitaram Punt and Vishnu Punt have proved to be honest, but are wanting in courage; and when the robbers first came out, they were not much respected. When we arrived at Lonee we found that four men of the village of Dhavdi had come to us, and the rest were to follow.

25th February

In the house of Nana Saheb Urph Bhow Saheb, I stayed alone in the upper story from morning to night. I took my bath at his house. When we wanted to sent money for arms, Bapu Saheb's brother made a mistake in the despatch, which caused considerable delay. Afterwards, I sent three gold chains to be pawned; and Nana Saheb Urph Bhow Saheb, having added Rs. 25 from his own pocket, despatched Sukharam Mhar with the cash to Bapu Saheb at Poona. Mr. Vishnu Punt was also sent to Poona with some message (Nana Saheb, brother of Bapu Saheb, is a totally useless man, and he should only be entrusted with the work of a sepoy).

26th February

This day (26th February), from morning to evening, was spent in cooking in the field of Panmulla. While we were sitting at dinner, we were informed that the police were coming. We left the field of the Panmulla, got up and began to dress. Shitaram was only present. At night slept at Shitram's house, where Shitaram, Vishnupunt, Babajee Mookashi and Lakhsuman Kandvekur arrived at night; and after them Bapu Saheb and Gopal Rao followed. Shitaram Waikur, Shitaram Gokak and Babajee were sent back, and were informed that we would come to the jungle of Ahire to-morrow.

27th February

Kooshajee Balojee Wabia and Coma Wabla should not be allowed

to come home. There were 11 men present at Loni when Dowlata was on his way to Yewut.

From morning to noon I was at his house. At about 2 p.m. two sowars had come to Loni. Dowlata removed us from his house and took me, Vishnu Pant, Gopalrao and Lakshuman, to the house of a Kunbee, where we were till evening. We were there just like prisoners for three days. When the Fouzdar came at night, we were sent out. The Fouzdar arrested two men and Pillajee Ramoshee. We sent two men to Bapu Saheb and others, informing them that we would try to release Pillajee Ramoshi and the two men by killing the Fouzdar and sepoys. A man came and told us that Pillajee had bolted ; and as it was late, we gave up our idea of killing the Fouzdar, and took the road by the forest of Ramdara.

28th February

We reached Ramdara just before the dawn of the day, accompanied by about 23 men ; the rest were behind. After taking our bath, we sent a man to Wadki to purchase bajree flour, which he brought, and at about two O'clock we prepared our meals. As we are in the habit of eating every day good meals, to-day's food was not to our taste. We had only cooked rice, pieces of stale bread, and chillies to eat. How we pass our days should be well considered by those at home. The rest of the day was spent at Devdara. At night we slept at the foot of the hill. Early in the morning, at two o'clock, we commenced to climb the hill, when it occurred to us that this was just as good an opportunity as we had at Dhavdi where Ganu Ramoshi had gathered grain and food. Before the hazree (1st of month), the Marwadies gave out the information which enabled the police to come and arrest them ; they bolted and joined us.

1st March

Before sunrise we arrived at the fort of Sonuree. The road up the hill was very rough, which caused us to fall down ; when climbing there, we met Pillajee Ramoshi, Rama Kolee, Bhicojee Sinde, Kondjee Nahavee, who had come there one day previous to us ; the meeting of them was a godsend (Navus : Shankurachi Prarthana). This day was a novel one in our rambling life, as the going up the hill on such a rough road was bitterly felt by us. It even surpassed our usual weary walks on the grass fields. Our feet had been entirely bruised and were paining. The Patel of Sonuree expressed his willingness to see us, which message was sent us by the men

who brought us food. At night we went to the foot of the fort.

2nd March

In the morning Dowlatrao Ramoshi came and met us. The two men who had been to call Dowlutrao returned, one in the afternoon and the other in the evening. We left the fort of Sonuree, called Mulhargud. Left the same night, arriving at Savleshwar. Savleshwar is the place of Shunker, where the water in a tank is very light. Savleshwar is situated on the top of the Mulhargad, where there is a big idol. The formation of the idol is of a very large size and of ancient design. Keshewrao Panse came to meet us. Raghojee Patel Sonurikur, accompanied by two or four Ramoshies also came, and said that he would leave a weapon with the Patel which would reach me.

3rd March

On the morning of this day we brought food from the village of Amli. Dhondi Patel, resident of Rajewad, had come to visit us, accompanied by three or four Koonbees. Natha was sent to Hingungaum for guns, which he brought. Dhondi Patel made arrangements for securing arms from the Inamdar. Sucaram Patel gave all this information. Dhondi Patel is from morning to evening to be found at Amli, and at night; but Pandoo Ramoshi, who had been out to sell gold, did not return at night; and in order that he might not be left behind we stayed for the whole night.

4th March

Pandu Ramoshi arrived early in the morning. He brought a gun of Rs. 20 and sent two men with Rs. 56 for the purchase of three guns from Bhuratgam. Pandoo advanced us Rs. 130 on loan. Khundoo Tabar gave us prepared food. Gopala Kale came to visit us. He is a brave and intelligent man. Guns were brought by the two men. It was settled that we should leave the temple of Savleshwar. Left at night, and went to Kande Pathar, which is called Jejoorie. Dhondi Patel said that the Inamdar had no arms.

5th March

Arriving in the morning, we took our meals of Poorunpoli (Jaggery cakes), which we distributed to every one. About three years ago I had been here once, so the people knew me; but having got the clue, I sent a note to the Ramoshi of Wahale. The messenger

returned and informed me that he had left for Poona. Went at night to Wahale, where we learnt that there was a good treasure in the first house. But we unfortunately attacked the house of a Mang, where five swords were taken. The whole of the village was prepared, and the treasure which was in the house was removed. We went and looted other houses.

Altogether, the booty was not promising. Afterwards we made our way at night by a circuitous route, in order that we might not be traced, and arrived in the forest of Pangara.

6th March

On the morning we sat on a hill under a Oomra-tree in the hamlet of Bhatmala. Lakshuman Kakde, although a Mahratta, was observed to be brave. On this day the pay was distributed. The loot amounted to Rs. 300 in cash ; gold was little ; silver about 3 lbs. The Patel had promised to bring men, and he took the trouble of gathering them. The Patel said he would send seven or eight men if we sent for them after two or four days. Rs. 10 were paid to each. Got up at night and slept in a dry brook.

7th March

Early in the morning, we stopped under a tree of Nirgundee near Poorundur. Kooshaba and Bala came to meet us where we had told them to come, and counselled us to stay for five or six days, as there were some marriage ceremonies going on. The police would come there and make a disturbance, so they desired our help, and in return they would give us men. Sukharam Naik, Pandu Mokashi, the grand-child of Omajee of Bhivdee, and Rhumbajee Naik, had come to visit us, who promised to send about 40 men. It was decided that we should stay for a few days. About 10 or 15 men left for their houses, to give the pay they had received to their families. Then we had about 15 left of whom Dowluta, and four men stayed with Rhumbajee, and the other 12 stayed at Waghdar, which is a cave in the hill. Other 12 men had gone to Pandu Ramoshi, as he had sent for them to prepare food. From morning till night we had nothing to eat, and had no bath. At night after preparing our meals at Bheevdi, we dined. There we met Rajaram, the grandson of Omajee. Afterwards we slept at Oghly, which is near the village of Pokhar. Came to Waghdar.

8th March

This place, Waghdar, is only half a mile distant from the hamlet of Kaley ; stopped at Waghdar, and sent Lakshuman Dhavde Kondvekur to inform the others that we were coming to the hamlet of Kaley. Dowlutrao did not meet us yesterday, but we had sent out Lakshuman Dhavde to ascertain the whereabouts of Dowlatrao. He went and gave the order for bread, etc. Kooshaba Sabla and Kooshaba Patel met us. After a short talk, he said that he was coming in the evening, and left. Today too we had no bath nor anything. Food and water were brought to our cart. After drinking two cups of water I was quite happy. At night we came down the hill and dined at Krishna Sabla's, where we met some of our gang, including Dowluta, Shumbajee Buwa and Koosha Patel. I began to converse with them, and told them a number of stories ; mentioning that I had come depending on their assistance. "Let me see now with how many men you are going to assist us". Kooshaba Patel and Krishna Sabla began to converse among themselves, and asked what will be the pay of each individual. The pay was mentioned to be as usual. They then said, if the amount be paid, we will give you the men required. I said, "I will not pay the men their wages unless they have actually stayed with me for at least three days ; otherwise how are we to depend on them ? He replied, "You need not be uneasy about it". I informed him that I had already lost 5,000 rupees by paying men in advance. Then the men came, and I said "You may send some one for pay after three days, and he will receive the wages of the men". He promised to bring the men on the next day of the Panchami. We returned to Waghdar at night, accompanied by the Patel's brother, who was sent by the Patel. Rhumbhajee and Kooshaba Patel left for the Pait while we slept at Waghdar.

9th March

Spent the day from morning till evening in Waghdar. The water which had been brought the previous day, was only used, as no other water was brought. We were three Brahmins in all. What must have ben the difficulty we have experienced, when we had not taken even Pharal. The shade of the tree which we had was only that of the tree of Kurvunda. Although we had paid for the Khariks (dates), it was not procurable. We had been promised hundred men. So we did not feel at all about the hunger and the fast we observed.

10th March

This auspicious day was also spent at the Waghdar. There

are about five marriage ceremonies to-day, and six more to-morrow. Sukharam, the pay clerk, arrived. Vishnupant Gadre was sent to Poona with gold and silver to purchase gunpowder, lead, etc. Sakharam brought the tidings of the bolting of Bapu Saheb. Nana Saheb was acquitted ; Bhut and Bapu Saheb were handcuffed, which did not enable them to bolt. Hearing this, our mind was not in its proper tone, and we were engaged for a whole hour, considering how to have him released. After praying, we said, " God is great and they will be released ". Learning that many men had run away, of whom three had gone to Bombay, enhanced our anxiety. Another man brought the news of the release of Nana Saheb. Learnt that Baba Saheb, the son of Nana Saheb, is still in custody. We were then 15 men. Now, on such an occasion, if the enemy were coming, what would be the consequence ? Left our fate in the hands of the Almighty.

11th March

This day, too, we passed at Waghdar. The village men met us, and they showed their willingness to join us. Our food was prepared at Kadepathar by the Gurvas whom we arrested. We learnt that a fouzdar, accompanied by seven policemen and two Gurvas, had come to Garad. Information was received that four sepoys and an inspector of the Forest Department passed from the place where we were seated, to Narayan Pait. Our men began to tremble as we had only the same number of men we had the previous day. Seven men came after a short time, who told us that Sitaram Gokak was arrested. This made us uneasy. Vishnupanth who had been at Poona returned after making Ganpatrao one of their gang a State Prisoner. Haribhau was under arrest for four hours. Damu was also put in arrest. Jakujee Ramoshi, when asked, said that he did not know anything. When Gunpatrao, seated close to Huree Bhow, was asked about the key of my house, he replied he did not know. If they had run away then there would have been cause for their arrest. When the door of my house was opened by the key, some gunpowder was found. Strict and stringent watch is kept on me. Vishnu Punt said that my wife had gone to Joonner, and the Government officers were after her enquiring about me. The information given to Ganesh Bapuji Sathe by Ganputrao Devdhar, regarding Mahadeorao Karmarkar, was not becoming in him, as he had been to Bhowandi on leave. Nana Saheb Urph Bhow Shaheb and Ravirao were at the house of Hurree Bhow for four days when they absconded. Bapu Saheb, his brother Nana Saheb also ran away. Sitaram Punt Gokak and Sitaram Punt Godbole have not yet returned from Aher. At night about 10 or 12 men from the

village accompanied by two men of Dhavdi came to see us. We informed them that we would leave and come at night to the valley close to Dhavdi.

My brother was also called from Bombay to Poona who flatly said that he knew nothing about the whereabout of his brother. My brother was then released and he has left for Bombay. We were informed by Vishnupant of all this. Durgabai who lives close to my house informed the police that my wife had gone to Joonner ; but she will be rewarded with punishment, when the time comes by having her nose cut. Durgabai had no reason to inform them where my wife could be found. Haribhau had been to Yeshwantrao Maharaj. Yeshwantrao Maharaj inquired where is Rao Saheb. Haribhau angrily replied " You are well acquainted with where he is, and I cannot understand the reason of the question ". We learnt that Haripant is at Padsad, and you need not be frightened.

12th March 1879

This day was spent here under the scorching sun. Although a shade was made of our clothes still the shade was not at all equal to the one we have had of trees. Our shade was in fact no shade. Ganpatrao Devdhar's arrest made us uneasy. Kanoba Yadav took great pain and troubles in bringing milk etc. He took the money for bringing food for the next day promissing at the same time that no one should know anything about our being here. Kanoba Yadav and Kooshaba Patel are not on good terms as Kooshaba thinks he will get a Patelship in the Poorundhar Taluka. Bapu Chima has Sunnuds and he is the head of the house. We spent the night here.

13th March 1879

Early in the morning we bathed in the spring and sat there to give lessons in fencing. Krishna Sable came and after a short conversation it was settled to go to Mansi hill at night. We met six men of Wadi for which place we left ; on Saturday went to Mangdari and committed a dacoity during the day. Rumbhajee's brother Raojee Ramoshi and Bala Dalvi came and informed us that from Poona about 50 men of the infantry were expected to come. The inspector being at Saswud frightened us a little. Dalvi told us that he was coming with five men. Krishna Sabla and two other men came during the middle of the day and told us that the infantry had come, and that Kooshaba of Saswud who had left that morning was called. Our party will leave after the Infantry have left as we cannot at present move. Dalvi offered me his carriage and told me

to go where the cartman directed. He said that he and his party would meet me in the evening after Hajree to inform you what I will learn from the Patel in the evening or the next morning. He said they were sure to come, and he laid his hand on my foot and returned leaving a man with us. Our guide brought us the news that two Sowars and a Palkee had come. Then we began to climb up the hill. What he meant by the Palki we did not understand. I told them to stop but no one heard. At about 5-30 p.m. two or four men came to us : I told them " I want to see you " ; they sent a man to guide us who bolted. When we began to go up the hill they came up to us ; we therefore got down. They gave us three men, amongst whom were Kanoba Yadav and Bapu Chive Patel, who has a village of Inam at Purandhare with other two men. One of the two men who were given to us said " I will ask my father and return "; but he did not Kanuba Yadav and Bapu Chive were men of their word and we did good for them which will be remembered by our men. They promised us ten more men on the receipt of our letter. Kooshaba Patel is a rogue and deserves some punishment which will bring him to his senses. He promises but never fulfills. We sent two men again to Krishna Sabla Patel to inform him that we are leaving and to ask if he wished to come. Krishna Sable said to us " Send me a man the day after tomorrow and I will then come ". After this we went to Punt Sachive's territory from where Bhore is four miles off. We hid under the jungle at night and in the morning came to an open place.

14th March 1879

On our coming to Ooghly it was day break, but we thought that even if we were seen we would be taken as forest officers, as we were Brahmins. As Sanaswadi was close by and a man had come from Tooka Mali who gave us two Ramoshis, to them we paid money to distribute two rupees to each Ramoshi's house. They all came and we looted Harni ; but the loot was not good. Brahmins' houses were not found. Coconuts, groundnuts, etc. were left which we brought back. The village people made a great noise. One remarkable event occured ; it was this. There was a Bania woman who was very resolute and brave such as we have never yet seen in our lives. She was often dragged by the hand, but did not stir ; so much so that a man was quite unable to drag her. She was severely beaten but as she had kept her jewels under her she was resolute and spoke the words ' Shiv, Shiv '; so we left her.

15th March 1879

On our coming to the Surpalla village we stopped at the Karundi forest, where Bapuje Patel met us. He promised that he would supply men ; when we came to the village the men brought us water etc.; we also asked for men from them. They said if you would halt for a day we will be able to give you ten or 12 men ; but we left for Mangdari.

16th March 1879

In the night we arrived at Kondunpur where we slept at Wadi, and in the morning we sent men for water when some Marwadees brought us rice, bread, water etc. and said they (Marwadees) were very glad to see us. At Mangdari we asked from the Agashe the levy of the field ; the village people had great altercations and had even kept policemen ready in numbers. We had looted on the first day Hurni ; of this which they must have learnt. On hearing they hid the jewels etc. of the village in the field. On our going there guns were fired on us when Dowlutrao and Vishnupant went forward and Kashavrao was wounded with a bullet. Dowlatrao was wounded by a stone. Vishnupant had no arms but a stick which he quite well and freely used. He made the men leave their swords. These they left and bolted ; but our men thinking all was right entered the village being unsuccessful. The guns commenced firing which I understood to be of my gang. In the meantime our men reached the village with guns and swords ; found not a soul present ; they all had left with their doors, windows, boxes, etc., open, leaving nothing behind. We felt and stopped in a cave near Kondunpur. Keshavrao was suffering very badly from the wound he had received.

17th March 1879

Very good arrangements were made here on Sunday. We got up at night, stayed near the hill of Khudukwasla which is a very good place ; for the jungle is a very thick one in which two hundred people can safely be lodged. The difficulty was about the water only. Vishnupant was sent to Poona with Aba cooly to make enquiries and purchase some articles. Vishnupant said "Two Ramoshies followed. They met us and went away". Lukshuman Kakde was sent to Daulatrao Koley to get information whether anyone had seen our men. Daulatrao Koley Lukshuman and another man came and met us. After conversing with them and lecturing against Englishmen in order that they might despise and hate the English we made up our mind to go ahead that is at Mendha ; Lakshuman was sent to

Ahirwadi in order to enable Vishnupant to come and visit us. Information was received that Babaji Mokashi Kondvekur had gone out and two men were sent to Purundar ; they were informed that some men were to come from Purandar, so we sent twenty two men during the evening to the hill. The road to Sinhgud is steep that if one misses his footing he is sure to go down the hill. I fell down at one or two places. The first fall hurt me severely, so much so that it made me feel I was on the point of death. We arrived on the South side of Singhud and were about a quarter of a mile from our destination. Laxuman Dhavda having missed the way, took us by wrong direction as the two sides of the wall resembled very much each other. Instead of going to the corner to which we wished to go, we came to a road leading to the village of Jambhol, where one of our men was bitten by a snake. When he returned the men began to condole with him by saying that in this month the poison of the sanke does not affect man. We passed the night there. I also told him that I had not come to do any ill to my brethren and the almighty had always been gracious and taken care of us up to the day. "He had anxiety even now so do not be alarmed." Today we wanted to send a man to Purandar and Laxman tomorrow to Ahir but did not do so on account of snake bite. How it will answer if our movements are to be deferred by such accidents was the unusual thought that occurred to my mind for a couple of hours. Vishnupant and Aba who had gone to Poona, and Bajaba Kashevrao who was ill, were informed before hand that we were to go to Ahir and we asked them to join us there.

18th March 1879

Got up early in the morning to go to Ramkada which we began to climb and saw the Wadi up the hill. I threw a little earth on the foot of Laxman in the name of Guru Maharaj saying "Don't be alarmed but come along with us". Made my company to sit in a cave while I went to Daulatrao's house and sent food to the men in the cave in which they were. I took my shida (rations) and cooked at Natha's temple where I abode and passed the whole day. The whole of the assembly came to me. I applied Bhilava to the foot of Laxman bitten by snake. We passed the whole night at the temple. In the forenoon one man was sent to Purandar and another to Ahir ; the latter returned the same evening to inform me that the men from Ahir were not coming. He gave a proper account of his going to Ahir as he described minutely.

19th March 1879

This morning the man who had been to Gopalrao Karve was sent in Company with Gopalrao to Ahir to get pucca information from Kudja called Banapur. In the middle of Kudja there is a river, where our men who wanted food had arrived to bring Vishnupant. Here four men were to be got. The men with Laxmanrao enjoyed themselves freely by killing goats and sheep. From twelve I began to be uneasy on account of the non-arrival of Vishnupant and Gopalrao; I did not like to eat till their arrival in the evening. Gopalrao then came and said nothing was yet heard of Vishnupant. I not caring to eat began to pray to God for the difficulties which began to pour on me one after another and to ask what would the end be as one man left one day, others the next, and on the third day Keshaverao was wounded by a bullet on the hand and moreover two men had been shot dead, Laxman Davde had been bitten by snake; Raghu Chorgey had bolted to Poona; Vishnupant and Aba Kaley were missing. Daulatrao Nayak informed me that five men and one Ramohosi of Donja in all six were coming to me. They all arrived and we slept together.

20th March 1879

Got up early in the morning and sat in the shadow of a cave but my whole mind was on Vishnupanth. Harji Naik Kaley came to see me. He did not promise to give men but he and Narayan made arrangements for our food. We offered money but they refused it. Savlaram and Amrutrao Kaley were among them. Harji Naik also came and paid us a visit. Narayan and his other village people brought us fresh milk. Having had no water since the morning, we drank the milk which refreshed us. We made up our mind to loot Sonapur in the evening. We went there but the Ramoshisis previously warned the villages of our intention so the people bolted. We were thus disappointed in booty. We arrived at Wadagaum at night, from which place Sonapur is four miles.

21st March 1879

On getting up at night and searching for our men who were missing, we found Rs. 11 of the loot in change. The other men had about Rs. 20. The Patel of Varasgaum and Krishnaji Patel Garade made arrangements in the village for our food. Laxman Dasavedkar a resident of Godawadi went running and brought for us curd while we were eating. He ordered curd again at noon for which he was rewarded. In the evening many men came from the village. They

were presented with the clothes, jaggery etc. When it was getting pitch dark we made up our mind to go over the same ground and halt. But while passing a better place was met with so we passed the night there.

22nd March 1879

In the morning we came to the tank at Dhangarwada and ordered food from the people. They brought it while we cooked rice. Milk was brought and paid for. As nothing was heard of Vishnupant, and as we did not know in what state the village was I went to Poona accompanied by man. Passing by Moota leading to Ulandi Ambagaum we passed Borewada reaching Aherwadi. As Vishnupant was sent there previously to get information whether we were to go to Ahir and as he did not come we went to Sinhgud. This has been already stated in the previous day diary. Having heard nothing at Ahir, we left for Kondwa and reached at 7-30 where I learnt of Babaji Mokashi's arrest. We went and slept at the temple near the river. After worshipping the Ganapati I left and on my way met two men who were going to Nadedi whom I followed. I went on enquiring after the house of Mokashi. People were there enquiring who I was but I told them that I was a karkoon (clerk) in the forest Department and was to leave for Poona. I asked the Ramoshi to give me someone to accompany me and to find out the house. I spoke to him gently in the Ramoshi's language and made some signs on which he was satisfied. I then began to explain to him explicitly and to enquire. how the hand of Keshavrao, who was wounded by the bullet was progressing. He took me to a place quite close to a road where Keshaverao used to sleep. I then learnt that Bajaba and the other men had gone to Ahirwadi but they did not know the whereabouts of our party. Vishnupanth and Aba who had been to Poona were arrested by the Patel and Kulkarni of Ahir but some of the well to do people asked the Patel and Kulkarni "What would you gain by their arrest as it would only be a ruin to their family, and supposing these the heads of their family be killed what benefit would you derive". Afterwards Vishnupanth and Aba who were kept in the Chowky till the evening were released. Bajaba heard this and he informed me. Though I was to go to Poona yet as Bajaba had brought with him from Poona what he was told to bring I did not go there, but told Keshavrao that we would go to Sinhgud early in the morning. His wound was progressing favourable and Keshavrao said "Send a man after seven days and I will come to you". Being acquainted with the surrounding village people I determind to leave, thinking to stop there was unsafe.

23rd March 1879

Went to Sinhgud early in the morning. On the road, about a quarter of a mile distant from Sinhgud, we saw a party of the Infantry of 25 sepoys and three Sowars passing. They were wandering in search of us, while the other party had been to Kondunpur to trace our movements. I enquired about Lukshuman Dhanavda at Sinhgud whose wound was improving, and after giving him some money, asked what had become of the Poorundar cooly. In the meantime a man came in and informed me that Krishana Sable wanted to know where I was, that he might join me. Hearing this, I left Sinhgud hungry ; arrived at Ghuru ; and from Ghuru I sat in a boat and came to the temple of Angle.

24th March 1879

Got up early in the morning to leave for Poona and coming near the river I met 5 or 6 men and Ganuba Phalka of Kotwadi. Every one was aware of the bad Government of the English ; to excite them still more against the Government I said "What will be the fate of your children if you do not join me ?" they then promised me 7 or 8 men ; I told them to loot Kondru, " and I will send my men to assist you in looting ". After saying so I went over the hill where our men were to join us. Our men had placed two Dhangars as guides to inform them of my coming. The guides were strictly warned and a promise taken that if policemen were seen our master (I) should be brought down in a Palanquin, just as if they were carrying a sick Dhangar, and thus I was to be brought to them four miles off. I met the two Dhangars on my way, when they took me to their house. They gave me curd to drink, and received me with respect, which highly pleased me. I impressed on their minds that I was one of the Rajahs, who had come to overpower the English ; and that I had taken great pains and trouble to overturn the Government, and if I succeeded their Inams would be everlasting. Believing this, the Dhangars treated me and my men well. A Ramoosi, a Mhar, and four men in the British service were coming to enquire for the dacoits. One of them had my book, who after enquiring went in the evening to the Patel's house who supplied us with food. We thought of hanging these six people but unfortunately they did not stop there. Had we followed and caught hold of these men the Dhangars would have been blamed for not telling the authorities of the dacoity. So we hid in the field.

25th March 1879

Early in the morning we went into a thick jungle where 1,000 men could safely lodge. During my life time I have met with several castes of people but the faithful Dhungars surpass all. If the Dhungars once say 'no' they carry out their word to the end. They took great pains for us and when the time comes for the reward they will be considered. There is a dispute between the Dhungars and Kunbees and the latter have determined to root out the former. Daulatrao informed the Dhungars that he would introduce them to me (Maharaj) in order that he might settle the distribution of the Inams of the land. Daulatrao began to enquire about me from morning to evening. At about 3 p.m. Vaghdar met us; and having put us on our way, left. In the evening we left the hill. And at about half way took rest to take our meals. About 7 p.m. the Waghdar (Dhaku Ramajee Gowda) came and informed us as we were taking our meals that the police party had come accompanied by Raghu Ramoshi of Bhowli. This information of our whereabout was no doubt given to the police by Raghu Ramoshi of Bhowli and two police of Kelewade who were to meet us at night. This was their stupid act. They even informed the police of the road we had passed by. They therefore came with the police and brought them from another direction. As we had previously ordered our meals to be got ready at Wadi we went there. We took our meals and left immediately; and taking two guides we went to a hill close by. There was a chowky on the way which we thought of attacking; but the guides said "We had better run away". As we were ignorant of the way which lay from the chowky up to the stop of the hill and as we were in the close proximity of 60 men of the Native Infantry and twenty Sowars who were in search of us we did not carry on. We would not have cared for them had the two guides who were with us not been cowards. We were ten in all so we gave up the idea of attacking the chowky. We went on till we came to a place on one side of which was the limit of the Sacheev's territory and on the other lies Poudkhor of the British territory.

26th March 1879

Arrived in the morning at the above mentioned place and stayed till evening. Then went to Kalkaivadi where I took Dahee from a Dhungar, which was the only thing I had that day. I began to enquire where the policemen were but as none had heard anything about them I kept watchers looking out and slept there. For five or six days continuously I could not bathe till 3 p.m.

27th March 1879

In the morning halted at the Likai jungle and sent away the watchman. The Dhungars of Likai were obliging men and made good arrangements for our meals. Here we thought of looting Ghotavde and just when we were leaving to loot at night a man from our company came and informed us that after looting Ghotavde we would not be able to go forward. This obliged us to give up the looting and we went on to the hill of Poud. After sleeping at Poud, we left on the same night to go up the Devi Hill but I and some of our party fell down on ascending the hill as the road was steep.

28th March 1879

Stayed at Devi in the morning. The Patel of Devi made arrangements for our food. Devi is in the Punt Sacheev's territory belonging to him. Poud is 2 miles from Devi. The name of the Patel of Devi is Tookaram Dabhade. The village people also assisted him in providing us with food. We ate many plantains. We passed two rivers. Waleli or the Mula, and Shinavre. The village Ramoshi said "You can come to our hill without any fear". He was well acquainted with the other Ramoshis. Some of the Kolees suspected the Ramoshi; but on consideration I found the Kolees to be wrong. I thought that I would be able to satisfy the Kolees and went personally to the village.

The arrangements for our food were rendered perfect by the village people. My meals-milk, sugar, etc, were brought at the expenses of either the villagers or the Patel. We slept there at night. The village Patel did not come at night.

29th March 1879

We spent this day at Janegaum. The Patel of this place arranged for our two meals. The jungle of Janegaum is a very thick one; there is no fear of one being found out, though he may stay for 4 or 8 days. Here also lectured the people. I impressed on their minds the duty of parents towards their children, and of considering me to be an infant, dependent on the parents' help; "I cannot lift up 2 maunds weight. A man of 25 years ought to do that; but it will take a long time to get to 25 years. This is my state at present. I am an infant, and just as the parents anxiously hope to receive support from their children at their old age, which is brought on through fever, cold and other diseases, and as the children render

help and are dutiful to their parents in old age, so if you as parents assist me as your child, I will as a duty towards my parents, render and help you with the reward when I have overthrown the English Government. If you do not assist me at present, then the English who are at present troubling you will exterminate you". When the men were satisfied with such example they said "Whenever you happen to come to this jungle you can come here freely without any fear". We took the same Ramoshi and went to Savargaum. Here we asked for the assessment of the land; when no one seemed to pay willingly we had to beat them and by this means got Rs. 200. The women were readily giving ornaments but we refused to take them. We went to Savre and enquired where the Bania was. The men told us that the Bania had gone to his native village. We frightened them, arrested the police Patel and the village Patel, asked them where the Bania was; they replied that the Bania had brought tobacco in the evening so he must be in the village. On this I ordered their noses to be cut, as they were telling stories. Then a man came privately and said "look at this lane"; in the mean time the two Patels arrived and went to the place the man directed and found two Banias in a house sleeping in a room. They were arrested and told to give up what they had, which they refused. We commenced beating them, and Pandoo Ramoshi cut the ear of one Bania, and the Nama Bania was also wounded. Nana once more asked him to give up but he refused. Every one in the village was much dissatisfied with Nama who was making a great zoolum on them. They therefore said "If you will take revenge we will be very grateful to you". We punished him well; and when the people reminded us, we burnt all his papers, books etc. We went to the hill of Devri. The road was very stony; one foot of mine was pierced with one or two thorns and the other was bruised severely by the rough road. Still I went on to the jungle of Kalevish, opposite the Dhungars in a plain. There were no trees. Rs. 50 we gave as a reward to the Ramoshi.

30th March 1879

The sun was getting hot; we therefore made a shade by cutting branches of the trees; we stopped till 3 p.m. After taking our bath we cooked and ate our food. In the morning Dhondiba, the Dhungar, brought us bread, water, milk etc. while we had rice. Dhondiba is a good natured man; and at about 5 p.m. one of the Dhungars informed us that some men were arrested at Salesavurgaum and Janegaum and were taken to Kolveem in the Punt Sacheev's territory, where information was given by the Patel of Chickulgaon. We thought then of taking Khed, and so left. The road being of a peculiar

kind we had to go down by a long way into the valley of Poosana, where we halted.

31st March 1879

I and Gopalrao sat under an Oomra tree at Poosana, while the other men were in a cave in the hill, till evening. Afterwards one or two men came and informed us that Haree Vani, Tookaram and Vithu Teli of Pakhole, Usenwa and Chand Khed were very rich people and had a good lot of money. They had brought with them a man to show us their houses. There is good water to the left on the top of the hill. There are many houses of Dhungars along that road, which goes to Avulswur. We reached Chand Khed early in the morning; made a loot at night and left for Mooshi.

1st April 1879

Since morning Gopalrao's legs have been paining. I also fell down on the way. While we were going by the road, the carts were passing. The Ramoshees ran away. This we came to know afterwards. First I thought that men had come to arrest us and the Ramoshees therefore ran away. I followed them, but fell on the road, which injured me much. On the way we slept under a tree and rose early in the morning and went to Chicklis, where we cooked our food. We reached Mooshi in the evening, where we sat on a well, and inquired about Narayan Ramoshi. A man had come to guide us to the place where our men were. I walked although I was suffering from fever and the pain in my foot, which was at this time unbearable. On my arrival Dowlutrao informed me that the men were going away with the booty they had with them. I enquired about the gold ornaments which I learnt were taken in the loot. In answer the men said that they had divided the ornaments among themselves and would not give me any portion. On their saying this I began to think how the work would be accomplished with such men. The men left while we slept under an Oomra tree.

2nd April 1879

Got up in the morning; went to a friend's house in Poona. The friend informed me that a very strict enquiry was going on after me. Hurree Bhow was again arrested because silver ornaments were found in the house of Ganputrao, who told the Fouzdar that the silver ornaments were given to him by Hurree Bhow; that enquiry was still going on daily, that men had been sent to my wife to inquire about me; that I had better not stay there but leave at once. There is

a great talk in the city about my coming to Poona backwards and forwards. Accordingly I left his house. I met another friend; and after wandering in the city, I slept in the temple of Gunputi.

3rd April 1879

Got up early in the morning and made my way towards Sholapore, reaching Oorulee in the evening. I destroyed the trace of the ornaments which I had with me in a Chatty. At night I came to the station of Oorulee, and taking a seat in the train, arrived at Sholapore. From Sholapore I took a ticket for Doodhnee and travelled by train.

4th April 1879

From Dudhnee I went to Gangapur; arrived there at night.

5th April 1879

This day was spent at Gangapoor. People here distributed the cooked dal of Moong to the poor. The goldsmiths of this place have their Shegries of the form of Chatties.

6th April 1879

Koorundwadkur Bai had come here; she had a dinner party and I went to dine. But the food was not pleasant as I seldom go out dining.

7th April 1879

Early in the morning I left for Shahabad. The houses of Shahabad, 10 miles from Gangapur, are all built with stone. Hardly any wood is used except Babool and Neem trees. No other kind is seen. The people here use stone for tiles. The stone can be had of any length and breadth. This place is very barren. Reached Shahabad in the evening; the station is over a mile distant.

8th April 1879

After getting up in the morning, went to Shahabad station, and took a ticket for Krishna river.

9th April 1879

Kandupoor, Deoorchoogoo, Garulee, Koorvehalie, Kurkunda, Rampoora.

10th April 1879

Took notes of the following villages on account of going to Gundwul, Undkhust, Purtipal, Burdipad, Jethped, Dupray, Pdarpath, Gundiwal.

12th April 1879

In the evening left Koorangadi, but arrived the evening at Nargadi.

13th April 1879

Left Nargadi after my bath. Reached at about 12. The people are savage and ignorant. The population so and so. Only the Rajwada is rather pretty. The guns are good, one 20 hands long.

14th April 1879

Gandwul, Jamnad, Anantapur, Kandherey, Nakapaiya, Pudandari, Dharmar, Booreely, Julapur, Hatkiapur, Oodlee, Khachad.

15th April 1879

Kurjoor, Gardumla, Nadigotcuru, Mandal, Joopad, Joothur, Lingar, Chamera, Doodhya, Atmakuru, Noopad, Lingala, Chhalivila, Doodhal, Yenkala Kothru, Bulwari.

16th April 1879

Krishnapur, Thanukpur, Negloti, Pacheru, Bhimgola.

17th April 1879

Pusdali, Mandipali, Koloor, Moodmal, Godeybaloor, Indapur.

12th May 1879

Indapur, Magjoor, Mangtal.

17th May 1879

No rest in life. Spent at Mangdoor the whole of the time up to third date, and left afterwards to Banatkur.

18th May 1879

Arrived this day at Banatkur at Balkrishna. Botala Turkar of the Kushba of Latoor Talooka Avsar, Zillah Bendreg, that is Mantual; outside of which place stayed in the Nath of Varsar where I cooked.

19th May 1879

Yuswustrao sent from Parmura.

20th May 1879

Mulharrao Peskur.

21st May 1879

Goolam Hoosaen (Bulsend).

24th May to 27th May 1879

Capital Rs. 120-0-0 ... Expenses 127-0-0

28th February 1879

Capital Rs. 6-8-0 ... Expenses 5-0-0.

29th February 1879

Balance on hand this day 1-8-0 expenses : 7-0-0.

Pandu Ramoshi ... ... 47-0-0.

NEWSPAPER COMMENTS ON W. B. PHADKE

Report for the week ending 29th November 1879

The *Indu Prakash* (3) of the 24th November in its principal leader, says that when Wasudev was carried from the courthouse after his conviction, some people in the crowd, which had assembled to witness his trial, shouted out "success to Wasudev." Upon this the arch enemy of Brahmans at once declared that the Brahmans of Poona were favourable to Wasudev's enterprise. If this reasoning be valid, a conclusion equally unfavourable to Europeans could be drawn from a fact which we have heard. When Wasudev was brought to the railway station of Poona after his conviction, a European lady presented him with a bunch of flowers. From this incident it might be inferred with equal justice that European ladies were favourable to Wasudev's cause. But no sane person would dream of drawing this inference. If this be so, the other opinion with respect to Brahmans is equally untenable. Judges often show compassion in passing sentences; but from this no one would think of inferring that they looked upon crime with partiality. Only a few months ago, one Casiratu, an Italian, was charged with committing murder at Simla, and the European community of that station raised subscriptions in order to enable him to engage Counsel to make his defence. Would any human being be justified from this fact in saying that the subscribers approved of the deed? Our Meadow Street comtemporary himself declared that it was perfectly justifiable to help the man to make his defence. It was perhaps a similar feeling which led the people in the crowed and the European lady to express their compassion for the fate of Wasudev. From the publication of his diary, and the facts which came out during the trial, it is clear that the man is demented, and surely there could have been no harm in expressing sympathy with him in his awful position.

Report of the week ending 29th November 1879.

(Page 6, paragraph 3)

The *Shivaji* (27) of the 21st November, in one of its principal leaders, alludes to the conviction of Wasudev Balvant Phadke, and observes that he has received his due. The intentions of Wasudev were praiseworthy, but he did not go the right way to work for want of a proper education. For the good of his countrymen he gave up a comfortable situation, abandoned a young wife, and sacrificed his own happiness. He did not commit dacoities in order to

amass wealth. We cannot help praising him, says the *Shivaji,* for his disinterestedness and patriotism, but his plan for effecting the deliverance of his countrymen were not suitable to the present times. The system of Government which obtains now is very different from that which prevailed in the days of the Moguls. The schemes of Shivaji were well adapted for those times, but they would be altogether out of place at the present juncture. The prosperity of India depends on the continuance of the British rule. We have, it is true, to pay heavily for it because it is foreign, but there can be no doubt that the country has immensely benefited by it, and may still reap advantages in the future. It is, therefore, to be hoped that no one will be idiotic enough to follow the mad designs of Wasudev, but in these days we very much feel the need of individuals possessing his disinterestedness and self-denial. A real patriot ought to endeavour to bring the grievances of the people to the notice of Government, and should try to spread the knowledge of India in England, and persuade the people of that country to take interest in Indian affairs. This is the only proper way of improving the condition of the natives of India.

Report for the week ending 6th December 1879

(Page 3, paragraph 1)

The *Deccan Star* (2) of the 23rd November, in its principal leader, says : In the eyes of his countrymen, Wasudev Balvant Phadke did not commit any wrong. We agree with Mr. Nownhem, says the *Deccan Star,* that Wasudev did not do any good to the people on whose behalf he laboured ; but all true Englishmen must sympathise with him. This is evident from the fact that an English lady thought proper to present Wasudev with a nosegay at the railway station when he was carried away from Poona. Besides, our rulers are Christians, who are commanded by their religion to love their neighbours as themselves. Wasudev, though a Brahman, showed a truly Christian spirit when he tried to relieve the misery of his countrymen. Those who censure Wasudev for pursuing the course which he did, are simply dissemblers. When war was raging between Great Britain and her American colonies, one Dean Tucker wrote a pamphlet to show that the separation of the American colonies from their mother country would be no loss to the latter, but a clear gain to her. This opinion did not find favour at the time ; but we know from history that Dean Tucker was the only man who thoroughly understood the question, and that his opinion was right. Wasudev deserves the highest praise not only from all natives, but even from Englishmen who wish for the prosperity of Her Majesty's

Eastern Empire. By sacrificing himself he has averted danger which sooner or later must follow intolerable oppression. We consider him as the harbinger of a bright future for India.

Report for the week ending 13th December 1879

(page 5, paragraph 2)

The *Bodha Sudhakar* (8) of the 3rd December, alludes to the conviction of Wasudev Balvant Phadke, and says that in passing sentence, Mr. Newnham expressed his regret that the law did not permit him to pass a heavier sentence. We do not, says *Bodha Sudhakar,* understand the object which the learned Judge had in making this observation, although its drift is not altogether unintelligible. A little consideration, however, will show to any unprejudiced mind that the framers of the Penal Code were men of superior understanding to Mr. Newnham, and it is, therefore, not right to cavil at them. Some journals in Bombay have heaped all kinds of opprobrious epithets on Wasudev ; but the publication of his autobiography shows that he possessed some sterling qualities. He must be classed with some of the best benefactors of mankind, but having directed his attention solely to one object, he lost his balance and became demented. His intentions were good, but the means by which he hoped to carry out his ideas were utterly unsuited to the times. We are certain that those who esteem and applaud Washington will do the same in the case of Wasudev ; but the natives of India have lost all ideas of patriotism, and hence there is no one among them to appreciate him. Washington pursued a policy which was perfectly understood by all his countrymen, but the plans of Wasudev were utterly unintelligible to his followers. The opinions which Wasudev has expressed with reference to the oppressiveness of the British rulers are true to a certain extent, and it would be well if our governors were to profit by them ; but the appliances by which he expected to accomplish the deliverance of his country were ill-conceived and ill-adapted. It does not do to rise against a government, simply because it is oppressive. Wasudev wished to establish a republican government, but the accomplishment of this object was no easy matter, unless all the people were of the same mind with him. He wanted to follow in the footsteps of Shivaji, but the circumstances of those times were very different. The attempts of Wasudev to commit dacoities deserves condemnation, and he was rightly punished for them, and we are glad that in this matter he received no assistance from his countrymen. We do not agree with Mr. Newnham in the observation which he made on the occasion of passing sentence on Wasudev, as perhaps a severer punishment

would have led others to follow his example, which is undesirable in the interests of the governors and the governed. We wish for the continuance of the British rule.

III

CONSTITUTIONAL AGITATION

(1) THE BOMBAY ASSOCIATION

(2) POONA SARVAJANIK SABHA

(3) RANGO BAPUJ'S LAST MEMORIAL

THE BOMBAY ASSOCIATION

**[Sources—(1) Proceedings of the Meeting on 26th August 1852
(2) Newspapers]**

ITS FORMATION AND PETITION TO PARLIAMENT

[The charter of 1833 given to the East India Company by the British Parliament for the Government of India had specifically laid down that there should be no bar against any person in obtaining any place of power or position in the Company's administration on account of religion, race, caste or place of birth. But this clause in the charter had remained a dead letter for full twenty years. The distinction between covenanted and uncovenanted services was tantamount to the distinction between the white and coloured races. This position had begun to be keenly felt by all enlightened Indians. The Company's Charter was to be renewed in 1853. Political leaders of Bombay decided to start a political organisation to vent public grievances and the first political organisation of the Bombay Presidency was started in Bombay in 1852 under the name of Bombay Association. The following is the report of the Public meeting of the citizens of Bombay held in the meeting hall of the Elphinstone Institute on 26th August 1852. The report of the meeting opens with the introductory remarks of Hon. Shri Jagannath Shankershet, the Chairman of the meeting.]

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING

Hon. Shri Jagannath Shanker Shet's Speech

"I wish on such an interesting occasion this chair was occupied by Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, who, I regret, owing to indisposition, has not been able to attend, or by my friend Bomanjee Hormusjee, Esq., or other individual better able than myself to do justice to the objects for which we are here assembled.

"We meet here to-day to consider a most important subject. In the newspapers a notice was printed convening a public meeting of the Native Inhabitants of Bombay, which I shall read. From this you will see that it is considered highly desirable to form an Association in Bombay, to ascertain and note the wants and wishes of the people living under this Government; to consider what measures are cal-

culated to improve their condition ; and to submit the results of these inquiries to local Government and to the authorities in England. By these means it is hoped, under Providence, that we may be able to suggest a great many things to our rulers which otherwise may pass unnoticed, and we trust, that the results will prove highly beneficial to the people of this country, particularly the poorer portion who know little or nothing of the feelings of their rulers regarding them. The anxiety of the British Government is to improve the condition of the ryots as well as of the other classes. The grand aim of this meeting at which I am called to preside, is to secure the happiness of millions of our countrymen, and as such I have no doubt that every one of you here do feel warmly interested, and that you will strain every nerve to forward the objects in view. Gentlemen, I know your good feelings and good sense are such, that no further exposition on my part is necessary. The objects of this Meeting, I again repeat, are most noble, such as I believe we never proposed to ourselves before, on this side of India. To every one to whom his country and its people are dear, the subject cannot fail to commend itself to their best attention and energies, and I shall conclude with the earnest hope that success may crown our doings. Many, I have reason to believe, are of opinion. especially among those who have not moved in European society, that the British Authorities are opposed to frame or concede measures simply for the benefit of our country ; I mean such as do not at the same time involve their own pecuniary or other interests. But I assure such persons, in common with many here, that efforts on the part of natives to improve their own condition cannot but be looked on with pleasure by the paternal and enlightened Government that rules over this country, and meet with encouragement in proportion to their reasonableness and justice."

The following propositions were then unanimously adopted:—

Proposed by Bomanjee Hormusjee, Esquire, and seconded by Manockjee Limjee, Esquire,

"1. That an Association be formed in Bombay with the object of ascertaining the wants of the Natives of India living under the Government of this Presidency, and of representing from time to time, to the Authorities, the measures calculated to advance the welfare and improvement of the country."

Proposed by Cowasjee Jehangeerjee, Esq., and seconded by Vurjeewundass Madhawdass, Esquire,

"2. That the Association be denominated The Bombay Association."

Proposed by Cursetjee Nusserwanjee, Esquire, and seconded by Maneckjee Nusserwanjee, Esquire,

"3. That the Association shall take advantage of the opportunity afforded by the enquiries, now being made in England, into the nature and constitution of the Indian Government, to represent to the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain such reforms and improvements in the existing system of government as are calculated to procure the most efficient administration of public affairs, and to secure the general welfare and interests of the people of India, and that the Association do, in connection with those latter objects, open communications with, and seek the co-operation of the Societies formed for the same purposes at Calcutta and Madras."

Proposed by Framjee Nusserwanjee, Esquire, and seconded by Bapoo Jugunnath, Esquire,

"4. That the Association shall from time to time, on occasions arising, memorialize the Government authorities in India, or in England, for the removal of existing evils, and for the prevention of proposed measures which may be deemed injurious, or for the introduction of enactments which may tend to promote the general interests of all connected with this country."

Proposed by Narayan Dinnanathjee, Esquire, and seconded by Bhawoo Dajee, Esquire,

"5. That a subscription list be opened for the purpose of raising funds necessary to carry into effect the objects of this Association."

In moving the above proposition, Mr. Narayan Dinnanathjee said:—

"Gentlemen, I am very happy to see that this Association has been formed; the advantages to be derived from it are so various and so numerous, that I am unable to describe them. The language (Gujarati) in which I now speak not being my mother tongue, at present I labour under a disadvantage. 'Two heads are better than one'—thus runs an English proverb. What one cannot do, many can; union is power. If one person alone were to state the grievances of his country, no one would listen to him; but in an assembly formed from the community at large, such as the present one, the members can, as a body, represent to the proper authorities their grievances. In societies, if any one has any doubt on any subject, it can be removed by another member. There are innumerable advan-

tages arising from our meeting in a body, but I am not going to enumerate them here at present."

Proposed by Nowrozjee Furdoonjee, Esquire, and seconded by Dadabhoy Nowrozjee, Esquire,

"6. That the following be adopted as the Rules of the Bombay Association."

Mr. Nowrozjee Furdoonjee observed:—

"Gentlemen, before reading the Rules I propose for adoption, I beg to say a few words. It is usual in all civilised countries, especially in those of Europe, for the principal inhabitants to hold public meetings to deliberate on the existing and proposed measures and policy of the Governments under which they live, and to form Associations like that which has this day been inaugurated, for the purpose of respectfully representing their grievances, and suggesting measures calculated to promote the welfare and prosperity of their country; and to such representations the rulers always attach due weight and importance. The want of well-regulated and well-constituted Associations of this description has long been felt in this part of the country; and I am delighted to find that the want has this day been supplied at this meeting. An Association like this—for the regulation and conduct of whose proceedings clear and well-defined rules are laid down, composed as it is of the heads and representatives of the native community of this Presidency, gentlemen of influence, respectability, rank and intelligence, whom I rejoice to see here—cannot fail to command attention. The British Government, which is an enlightened and liberal Government, and professes to govern Indian for its own sake, will, I feel confident, be always ready and willing to hear the respectful appeals, the reasonable remonstrances, and the earnest representations which its Native subjects may consider it proper to make for the amelioration of the conditions of this country and the welfare of its people. It will be the paramount duty of this Association carefully to ascertain and represent the wants of the natives living under the Government of this Presidency, and such reforms and measures as are calculated to procure the most efficient administration of public affairs, as well as to memorialize the Government authorities from time to time for the removal of existing evils and the prevention of proposed injurious measures or enactments. Thus this Association will be permanent one, and will be of great use and advantage not only at the present juncture, but also at all times in future whenever occasions arise." He then placed the draft of the rules

of the Association for the approval of the meeting.

In seconding Mr. Nowrozee Furdunji's motion to adopt the Rules of the Association, Dadabhoy Nowroji observed:—

"Many ask what this Association means to do, when it is well known that under our present Government we enjoy an amount of liberty and prosperity rarely known to the inhabitants of India under any Native sovereign. In reply to this it is said, we ought to demand redress for our grievances. But what are those grievances? There may be many or none, yet nobody here is at this moment prepared to give a decided reply; and when we see that our Government is often ready to assist us in everything calculated to benefit us, we had better, than merely complain and grumble, point out in a becoming manner what our real wants are.

"We are subject to the English Government, whose, principal officers being drawn from England, do not, except after a long residence and experience, become fully acquainted with our wants and customs.

"Though they may always be anxious to do good to us, they are often led, by their imperfect acquaintance with the country, to adopt measures calculated to do more harm than good, while we, on the other hand, have no means of preventing such occurrences. The most we can do is to complain through the medium of a paper. In time all is hushed up, and the people carry with them the impression that Government has been unkind to them in not attending their complaint.

"We have, therefore, to consider what we ought to do, so as to secure our own good, and at the same time keep up a good understanding between us and Government.

"If an Association like this, formed by the great Seths of our community, be always in readiness to ascertain by strict inquiries the probable good or bad effects of any proposed measure, and whenever necessary to memorialize Government in behalf of the people, with respect to them, our kind Government will not refuse to listen to such memorials. This, therefore, gentlemen, is one of the principal objects of the Association. There are various departments of Government, such as Revenue, Judicial, Political &c., conducted according to certain regulations. Of these some may be beneficial, some injurious. Take with it the case of the Cunbis. Much is being said about their poverty and desti-

tution. But it is necessary to inquire into the true causes of this wretchedness. It may be owing, for aught we know, either to bad administration, wholly or partially, or to some other causes. The Committees of this Association shall have therefore to institute inquiries into the natures of the various acts to which we are already subject, as well as of those which might be proposed for future administration, and to report to Government in a proper manner the results of their inquiries. I see no better means of preventing the adoption of injurious measures than by a combination of the people, in the manner in which this Association is proposed to be formed, and I therefore second, with great pleasure, my friend Mr. Nowrozjee in his motion to adopt the rules he read over to you."

The Chairman then placed the following proposition before the meeting:—

"9. That a copy of the Proceedings of this meeting be submitted to Government, with an expression of the earnest hope of this meeting, that the objects of this Association will receive the support and co-operation of Government, as the Association seeks only to advance the welfare of the people of this country, which cannot but likewise be the aim and object of Government."

In moving this proposition, the Chairman said—

"I have already explained that the object of this Association is to ascertain what measures will promote the interests of the Natives. Now as the British Government acknowledge their duty to be to effect whatever good they can for the benefit of this country, it is clear that their object and our object are one and the same. We are not in opposition to Government, nor can Government be opposed to our objects, if it be shown that the good of the country is what we seek. The Government have the power to do much good, and we have many proofs that they have the will also. I need not go far for these proofs. Witness this noble Institution which they so generously support, in which so many who are now present have received a most excellant education. Witness also the Grant Medical College, where so many have been gratuitously taught the Science of Medicine, and have been prepared to gain a respectable likelihood, and to occupy an honorable position. I might refer also to the recent appointment of many Natives to the highly responsible situations of Deputy Collectors and Magistrates. The Government are willing, I am sure, to do what good they can, and when they are correctly

informed they will always be ready to act for the advantage of the people over whom they rule. But they are not in possession of full and correct information of all subjects connected with the welfare of the people. Besides their official sources of information, Government will be glad to have other channels of information on which they can rely. An Association like the one now established will doubtless be listened to with attention in respect to all matters which concern the wants and wishes of the people, which of course Natives have better means of knowing than gentlemen whose time is engaged with the duties of their official situations. I feel confident that the Government will be glad to receive suggestions from an Association of respectable Natives, who intend to enquire carefully what the interest of the people may require, and seek to promote these interests in a temperate manner through the co-operation of the authorities themselves."

The first thing that the Bombay Association did was to draft a Petition to be sent to the British Parliament. The following is the text of the Petition :—

PETITION OF THE BOMBAY ASSOCIATION & OTHERS 1853

To

The Honourable the Commons of Great Britain & Ireland, in Parliament Assembled.

The Humble Petition of the Members of the Bombay Association & other Native Inhabitants of the Presidency of Bombay.

Shervith,

1. That your petitioners have watched with much anxiety and interest the proceedings of your H'onable House and its Committee on the subject of Indian affairs as bearing on the Legislation about to be proposed for the future Government of India.

2. The report of your Committee which sat during the session 1852 having reached India has been examined and analyzed by your petitioners with much care and they observe that the members of that Committee have been so far satisfied by the evidence upto that time laid before them that they direct the attention of your Honourable House to the favourable tenor of the evidence with respect to the operation of Act 3rd and 4th

William IV Chapt. 85, so far as regards the administrations of the Government of India by the East India Company as trustees under the Control of the Crown.

3. The witnesses examined before the Committee of both Houses of Parliament amounted in all to twenty five persons, five of these having been examined before both the Committees. They consisted of Lords Ellenborough, Elphinstone, Hardinge, Sir T. H. Maddock, Sir G. R. Clerk and Sir George Pollock, Messrs. Bird, Willoghbhy, Reid, Millet, Melvill, Commondore, Robertson, Colones Sykes, Taylor and Alexander and Capt. MacGregor.

4. The whole of these Gentlemen excepting the three noblemen above mentioned and Capt. MacGregor have been more than thirty and some of them forty years in the service of the East India Company and without desiring to cast the slightest disparagement on their testimony, still it must be borne in mind that they are all to a great degree in the position of interested witnesses-speaking indirectly to the favourable results of their own services or at least of a system in which they have all borne a part. The majority of these gentlemen having spent the greater portion of their lives under the existing Government and having freely participated in the advantages enjoyed by the covenanted service of the East India Co., have naturally become prepossessed, in favour of things as they are and although upon a general view of the subject the Administration of the Indian Government may present to your House results very favourable to the Honourable .....of those to whom it has been confided by the Crown of England; still this conclusion leaves wholly untouched the important question whether the main provisions of an enactment passed in the year 1834 investing the rulers of India with powers almost irresponsible and despotic and instituted as it truly was "An act of effecting an arrangement with the East India Company". Constitute the Best Scheme or all that is needed for the good Government of these vast Territories, all that the Governed can justly demand or should be reasonably satisfied with in 1854.

5. Your petitioners may well leave in the hands of your honourable House without observation from them the Construction of the House portion of the Indian Government only asking that it may be so framed as naturally and easily at all times to secure within it the services of the ablest and most experienced persons, in Indian affairs; that it may be so simplified that the people of India may know who really are their Rulers, and who are responsible for measures of Great importance emanating from

England but with respect to the constitution of the local Government. Your petitioners earnestly pray your Honourable House not to continue them as they exist without a further and more searching investigation into the actual and daily operation of the existing system than your Honourable House now has or is likely to have before you, if the enquiries are to be so very general in their nature as they seem hitherto to have been and are to be confined to the evidence of retired Indian official personages.

6. Your petitions rejoice to learn that an interest and a spirit of inquiry respecting Indian affairs have lately arisen in England, which have led to a mass of valuable information being placed before the Public, of a nature that would never have reached your Honourable House from official lips, but which nevertheless, your petitioners would respectfully remark deserves the utmost attention of your Honourable House, though it may form no part of evidence, collected by the Committee of your Honourable House and may not be adverted to in their reports. Your petitioners may refer to many valuable reports published by highly competent persons now in England very antogonistic to the interests of the East India Company, whose names therefore your petitioners do not find amongst the persons summoned before the Committee to give evidence on Indian affairs and thereby also to attract the attention of your Honourable House to a very valuable and instructive work recently published at Madras on the administration of justice in that Presidency by George Bruce Norton, Bar-at-Law. As this gentleman is now at Madras and cannot be examined in England your petitioners have taken the liberty of annexing a copy of this work to their petition in the hope, that your Honourable House will allow them in this form, the benefit of that gentleman's testimony to the character of administration of justice in Southern India, testimony which however startling is nevertheless unimpeachable, being based on the decisions of the courts themselves; and your petitioners regret to add that Courts of the East India Company in this Presidency are on no better footing as regards judicial fitness and capacity than those of Madras.

7. Your petitioners are sensible that many of the evils which have hitherto retarded progress in India can only be remedied through the medium of efficient and properly constituted local Governments and they look with confidence to your Honourable House giving this head of inquiry the fullest consideration.

8. Your Petitioners, speaking of the Government of their own Presidency, though they believe the remark to be equally true

of the other Indian Governments, are of opinion that it is quite unequal to the efficient discharge of its duties and that nothing but the impenetrable veil of secrecy with which even its most trivial acts are covered protects it from Universal condemnation.

9. It consists of a Governor, a Commandar-in-chief and two Civil servants as members of the Council. The business is conducted primarily by four secretaries and two Deputy Secretaries, each Secretary having a separate department of his own and being in that the adviser of the Governor. The latter, who generally speaking is without local knowledge or experience is obviously in the hands of Secretaries, and for the most part from the mass of business to be despatched compelled to adopt the minutes they place before him.

10. The Commander-in-chief having the affairs of the Army to attend to or not caring to trouble himself with Civil affairs of the Presidency, with which he cannot be expected to be in the least degree acquainted, spends more than half his time away from the seat of Government and enters the Council apparently merely to record his assent to the minutes of the Governor. It has been stated in evidence before the Committee of your Honourable House that it often happens that eight or ten boxes full of papers on Revenue and judicial matters are sent to the Commander-in-chief at one time and they have been returned from his house to the other members of the Government perhaps within one hour, allowing merely time for him to put his intials; and your petitioners believe that it ever has been the case that the Commanders-in-chief though knowing nothing of the subjects in hand felt it their duty invariably to vote with the Governors.

11. The Civil members of Council are not selected from the most able and distinguished of the servants of Government though there have been some remarkable exceptions. The appointment is in the gift of the court of Directors and is always bestowed on some one of the Senior members of service about to close their Indian career. It is consequently canvassed for in Leaden Hall Street and falls to the lot of him, who can command the greatest amount of personal interest with the members of the court individually. A vacancy occurring but rarely few members of the Civil service can fill the appointment and its gift is thus a matter of favour. They have no specific duties to discharge and little or no responsibility and as things may always be outvoted by the Governor and Commander-in-chief they can scarcely be expected to take any prominent part in current affairs of Government or

induced to give any very effective assistance, unless something out of the usual routine or within the time of their past experience should arise to excite their interest. The evil tendency of their position is that having no defined duty, on part of the Government their own brief minutes or their signatures often put for the sake of the conformity to those of others, carry with them a weight to higher authority which should only attach to opinions deliberately formed and the result of careful enquiry made under official responsibility. The practical effect of a Government so constituted is that for the most part each secretary in his own Department is the Governor in council. The Secretaries with one exception selected from Civil Service and generally though not invariably from its most able members, having passed their lives from boyhood on some one or more of the subordinate agencies of Government are suddenly called upon to discharge the most onerous and important duties for many of which their previous training does not at all qualify them. Questions requiring for their solution a correct knowledge of the principles of finance, of political Economy, of the systems of the country and of other countries, involving the rights and just expectations of classes of persons, and the cases and privileges of individuals with lighter matters crowd in rapid succession on them and must be disposed of and however able and conscientious they may be, they have not the time to go through with due care and attention nor very frequently with the knowledge of the subject requisite to enable them properly to despatch the multifarious matters with which they are loaded ; Government being thus undernamed is necessarily compelled to throw off as much of its own duties as possible, on local offices to act on their report as unimpeachable and to shroud them in secrecy.

The European local officers on the other hand scattered over the country at great distance from one another and having large districts to attend to far beyond their powers of superiors and dependent to a very degree on their subordinates are compelled to dispose of the greater part of their business in a very imperfect manner and their statements to Government-whether emanating from persons who it is known may be trusted or from those in whose accuracy Government are aware no confidence can be placed, are on system accepted as equally trustworthy and the official vindication of the acts of Government founded thereon. The necessary result of this system is that Government is one of first impressions (institutions ?) that short handed as it is under the present system its chief difficulty and its main object is to keep down and despatch business, to despatch it well if possible ; but at all events to prevent it accumulat-

ing ; that hasty superficial reports of local officers, are, in regulating the conduct of Government except on questions of money of equal weight with those which are the result of care and reflection. It is obviously necessary therefore to protect the acts of such Government from public scrutiny and supervision in order to preserve for it public respect and the most rigid secrecy is consequently preserved in every department. So strictly is this enforced that the members of the Civil Service are all under solemn Oaths not to reveal anything connected with business before them and the Court of Directors have in modern days noticed with severe disapprobation the publication of a very small portion of one of their despatches by, as it was supposed, a member of the Civil Service relating to a suit at Law with which he had been connected judicially. The same amount of secrecy is preserved in everything that comes before Government—Whether it relates to a purely municipal matter—The establishment of a Sailors' Home, Principality—or hardship practised towards the individual and even where wrong or injury are complained of by a large class of persons or where merely private property is at stake or the character and prospect of an individual are involved—still the same system prevails. If the parties against whom unfavourable reports have been transmitted by the local officers apply for copies, they are always refused. Not the slightest oportunity is afforded them of correcting any misstatements that may have been made in these reports and there consequently is and naturally ever must be a great inducement to resort to unfair means to procure that information from the records of Government which cannot be fairly obtained but to which all the parties concerned are justly entitled and which on system merely is withheld from them. The inevitable effect of this system is the individual cases occupying a large portion of the time of Government. The most cruel injustice, even with the best intention is done. The individual concerned may have had a volume written against him behind his back—written with all the easy confidence of those, who know that their statements will not be handed over to the party interested to reply to ; and when the Presidency Authorities consider matters sufficiently ripe a few paras disclosing a small fragment of the case, recorded against him—a title only of what he ought to be allowed to answer and explain—is sent to him for such observation as he may desire to offer and on his reply to these he is adjudged. It is difficult to exaggerate or on any more general view fully to display the vicious operation of this system of Government but it will be obvious to your Honourable house that as a system it is the very worst that could be devised and the very last which good sense would indicate as adapted to strengthen

British Rule in India by giving it a hold on the affection of the people. On the contrary its obvious tendency is to engender and perpetuate amongst the young servants of Government an illiterate and despotic tone to give full scope to the prejudice, the ignorance and the self sufficiency of all, to discourage progress, to discountenance all schemes of improvement emanating from independent and disinterested sources and not within the view of the officer to whose department they are referred, and to cramp all agriculture or commercial energy, all individual enterprise.

12. Your petitioners therefore humbly entreat at your Honourable House in any new legislative which may be framed for India to abolish Councils as at present Constituted and in the place to create an useful and efficient council of which the judges of the Supreme Court in legislative matters and some of the European and native citizens should form a part. Also to put an end to that injurious system of secrecy which at present is the ruling principle of vice in Indian administration and to allow the council to call for the proceedings of Government and its local officers, except in cases in which the executive shall declare that State Policy requires secrecy to be preserved. Your petitioners further ask, that in questions of great importance to individuals and classes of persons coming up for the decision of Government, the valuable privilege of being heard by Council be conceded to those who may be desirous of availing themselves of it in support of their interest. With these measures your Petitioners believe that it would be absolutely necessary to strengthen the hands of the Executive Government and that it would be highly desirable that there should always be among the more prominent members some persons trained and experienced in the public offices of England, who can bring to the consideration of Public affairs a more extended knowledge and wider views than are to be expected from these European gentlemen who have passed all their days from boyhood in the bad system of the country and know no other by which to compare and improve them.

13. Your petitioners forbear to trouble your Honourable House with the details of such a change which are of easy construction if its properiety be once acknowledged, and they equally wish to avoid repeating what they have put forth in their former memorial already, as they believe referred to the committee on Indian Affairs but they are anxious to recall the attention of your Honourable House to that narrow and injurious system which gives to those educated at Haileybury College a parliamentary right to supply the vacancies in the Civil Establishment of India.

Your Petitioners believe that the existence of this exclusive service, bound together like members of one family—is imcompatible with a more open council and an efficient and responsible discharge of public duties. At present Natives of this country however respectable trustworthy and qualified they may be are excluded from the higher grade of judicial and revenue situations and from the regular Medical service to which covenanted European Servants sent out from England are alone appointed. Such exclusion being impolitic, unjust and contrary to the letter and spirit of the 87th sec. of the charter Act 1834, your petitioners respectfully reiterate their prayer that the invidious and unjustifiable distinction between the covenanted and uncovenanted services, which excludes the natives from the higher offices, be abolished and that Natives of India may be allowed to fill all situations for which they may be qualified. By the adoption and practical operation of such a measure a great stimulus will, your petitioners feel convinced, be given to the cause of education and improvement in this country. A great deal of discontent will be removed and inefficiency will be obiated. It is placed beyond controversy by the Testimony of official reports published by the local Governments, that the Grant Medical College at Bombay and the Medical College at Calcutta have recently produced as proficient and competent Native Surgeons and Physicians as those sent out from England under "Covenants". Instead of admitting any of the successful candidates into the regular Medical Service of Government a new and distinct Service has been created for them by the Indian Government, the rank and emoluments of which are considerably inferior, a course which is calculated to lower this new Medical service in the estimation of the Public and to perpetuate the distinction that has hitherto been preserved between Native and European agency or uncovenanted and covenanted servants of Government. So rigidly is the line of separation preserved, that a Native of India named Dr. Chukerburty who recently left Calcutta to finish his Medical Education in England, where he greatly distinguished himself and obtained the highest testimonials of proficiency, although recommended for an appointment, as an Assistant Surgeon in the East India Company's Medical Service by the Honourable Sir Edward Ryan and Mr. Cameron, gentlemen of eminent consideration for their past services, was your petitioners are informed, refused admission into the covenanted Medical Service by the court of directors collectively and individually.

14. Your petitioners cannot take leave of this important subject without requesting the favourable attention of Parliament to the

suggestion made in their former petition with regard to the advisibility of establishing University or College as proposed by that able and experienced servant of Goverment Mr. Cameron for the purpose of qualifying the Natives for Government employ, of imparting profound and thorough Judicial knowledge to Native candidates for the Bench and of training up a superior and independent class of vakils, or pleaders who would elevate the character of the Native Bar and be of great service in the efficient administration of Justice in this country.

15. Your petitioners would further ask that as regards the European servants of Government a distinction commencing in England and preserved through may be made between those who are destined to fill judicial offices in India and the Executive Officers of the Government and that the former may be withdrawn from the operation of personal favour and individual patronage and be selected like the judges in England for their own merit and acquirements.

16. Your petitioners believe that if whilst opening the highest judicial offices to the Natives of this country and fairly apportioning them between qualified Natives and their European fellow subjects, the offices of Zillah Judge were thrown open to gentlemen of Legal Education. If no one were permitted to leave England for this purpose until twenty-six years of age, if a public committee composed of four members named by the four Inns of Court and two members by the Home Government were appointed half yearly to examine the candidates, selecting from them so many only as according to the computed vacancies were then required, if the course of Examination besides comprehending a knowledge of selected portions of English substantive Law, the general principles of jurisprudence, procedure, the law and the constitution of India and its modern History, a class of most able public servants to fill the office of Zillah Judge and the higher grade would be selected and that a certain probation in India ending with an examination of the candidates into Native Languages in Hindu and Mahomedan code. The local regulations, the tenures and customs of the country would complete an education and produce an efficiency which under the Court of Justice a blessing to the country that would be heartily and gratefully acknowledged through the length and breadth of land and Appellate Courts so constituted would ensure to the English Government the firmest hold on the affections and interest of the people.

17. Your petitioners in their former memorial drew the atten-

tion of your H'onable House to the correspondence between the Board of Control and the Directors of the East India Co. contained in 17th volume of the "papers respecting the negotiations with H.M.S ministers on the subject of East India Co's charter and although well aware from that correspondence that they may justly ask your H'onable House, to discontinue the practice of periodically legislating for India, a practice exclusively connected with rights and privileges of the East India Co. put an end to by the arrangements made with them in 1833. Still your petitioners not foreseeing the chance of arousing the interest and attention now bestowed on Indian affairs, petitioned your H'onable House to limit the period of existence of any future government of India to ten years, but your petitioners are now emboldened to ask your H'onable House not to debar them for any period of years from requesting a revision of what may be injurious in the coming India's Legislation — not to make them exception to all British subjects in the distant Colonies of the British Empire, who have all along been in the enjoyment of the privilege of approaching Parliament whenever the affairs of the colony have required Imperial preference. It is simply necessary, Lord Brocylotn declared in his speech in the House of Lords on 1st March last, to pass an Act providing for the best form of Government both in England and in India, without limiting its duration to any number of years, an act which like any other Statute might be modified altered or repeated as occasion might require. And carrying out the same principle still further, your petitioners would respectfully observe that it cannot be necessary to embrace all the subjects involved in the discussion of Indian Affairs in one Act, and that the Constitution of the Home Government. The Constitution and powers of the several local Governments, the construction of a new Judicial Service and each independent Branch of enquiry if made the subject of separate Legislation would in all probability receive more careful attention and be more satisfactorily disposed off than if the entire mass of Indian information be gathered together in one and thrown into a single enactment.

18. Your petitioners, therefore humbly pray your Hon'ble House, that this petition may be referred to the Committee now sitting on Indian Affairs with a direction to them to have regards to its contents on any measures of Legislation which the committee may propose to Parliament and that your H'onable House will be pleased if necessary to cause commissions to issue to disinterested and independent persons at the three Presidencies — to collect evidence on India as to the practical working of the systems of

Government in operation and that such Committees may be authorised to examine all Government servants of whatever Rank and to require the production of any of the records of Government connected with State Policy calculated to throw light on the subject of enquiry.

And your Petitioners as in duty bound will ever pray.

Bombay May 1853.

[This Extract has not been compared with the Original—(*Editor*).]

THE POONA SARVAJANIK SABHA (1870)

(Summarised from the Reports and Journal of the Sabha)

[The Sarvajanik Sabha of Poona was one of the leading political organisations of the country in the second half of the last century. The period between 1860 to 1885 can be styled as the period of petitions, prayers, memorials. The memorials submitted by the Sarvajanik Sabha used to be very carefully and ably drafted and hence were respected by the Government also. The names of top rank leaders and organisers like Justice Ranade, G. V. Joshi (Sarvajanik Kaka), Tilak and Gokhale have been associated with this organisation. The Sabha had become a powerful instrument of the struggle for the organised and responsible ventilation of grievances against the bureaucratic government.]

BEGINNING

In 1867 an association called 'the Poona Association' had been started in Poona with the object of serving as an intermediary between the Government and the people. The prime movers of this Association were gentlemen of light and leading, some of whom, as the late Messrs. Kashinath Parsharam Gadgil, Kashinath Govind Natu, and Kashinath Balkrishna Marathe, are remembered even to this day. During the four years of its existence it held several meetings in order to enlighten the public upon the burning topics of the day. But it was eventually merged into the Sarvajanik Sabha. The Poona Sarvajanik Sabha was founded on the New year's day viz. 1st of Chaitra of the Shake year 1792, corresponding to 2nd April 1870. On that auspicious day Shrimant Shriniwasrao Pant Pratinidhi, chief of Aundh, stood up in the assembly of 95 in number who were elected by over 6,000 persons, representing all castes, creeds and interests and explained to them the object of convening the meeting. (Quarterly journal, jubilee No. 1920, pages 68-69.)

ELECTIVE PRINCIPLE

Modern democratic ideas had just begun to make their appearance in the country and surprisingly enough the Sarvajanik Sabha, at its very inception had introduced the elective principle in its constitution.

"Great care was taken from the beginning to make the Sabha an elected body. The formation of the Sabha on an elective basis clearly shows that the principle of election is almost engrained in the Indian mind and is not a plant of foreign growth. (Ibid page 69).

The first president of the Sabha was the Chief of Aundh and one of its first Secretaries was the famous Sarvajanik Kaka (Ganesh Vasudeo Joshi) who was the chief moving spirit and the real organiser of the body. Justice Ranade after he came to Poona in 1872 became the main guide and source of inspiration for all the intellectual activity of the institute.

THE GROWTH OF THE INSTITUTION

The Sabha started without any funds at the beginning. But steps were soon taken to raise funds for the purposes of the Sabha by means of subscriptions, donations, etc., and as years rolled on and the Sabha made its existence felt by its vigorous advocacy of the people's cause, subscriptions and donations flowed in from the rich and poor alike.

THE OBJECT

The preamble of the constitution lays down :

"Whereas it has been deemed expedient that there should exist between the Government and people some institution in the shape of a mediating body which may afford to the latter facilities for knowing the real intentions and objects of Government, as also adequate means of securing their rights by making timely representations to Government of the real circumstances in which they were placed, an association has been formed and organised under the appellation of Poona Sarvajanik Sabha."

The real difference between this organisation and the other organisations like the "Bombay Association" which functioned at that time was that the Sarvajanik Sabha used to go to the people and create informed public opinion in support of its demands. It was not a mere memorial making body. The relief measures organised by the Sabha at the time of the famine in 1878-79 and also the sober agitation conducted by it, compelled Government to accept plans and proposals made by the Sabha.

Unfortunately acute political differences caused a serious split

among the leaders of the Sabha in 1895. The moderate element represented by Justice Ranade and Honourable G. K. Gokhale left the institution, the affairs of which passed thereafter under the control of Lokmanya Tilak. After this Government's attitude towards the institution was changed and they declared (1897) that "The Poona Sarvajanik Sabha as at present constituted must cease to be recognised as a body which has any claim to address Government on questions of public policy." In spite of this adverse policy of the Government the Sabha continued its activities and agitations unabated.

RANGO BAPUJI ON SATARA ADOPTION

P. D. VOL. $\frac{100}{1048}$ OF 1885

[This memorial presented by Rango Bapuji seems to be the last of his untiring efforts faithfully done for securing redress and justice for the Royal family to which he had dedicated himself body and soul.

The memorial contains all the unhappy events that led to the extermination of the Royal family of Satara. The document is a masterly one and most probably the last one from the pen of this great fighter. Rango Bapuji's constitutional fight for his master—Pratapsing—has, it seems, hardly any parallel in the constitutional history of India. For more than thirteen years (1840-1853) he lived in London and carried on a ceaseless and virulent campaign against the evil deeds of the Company's authorities in India. This agitation, supported by a number of eminent members of Parliament had for some time created headache for the E. I. Company Directors. It was so effective that Major Basu describes it as the "exposure of the mis-government of India by the company, to which should be ascribed the final abolition of the company."

Very little is known about this great fighter, his glorious struggle and its achievements. He was highly respected in London and was publicly honoured there on the eve of his departure to India (November 1853). The silver plaque presented to him on this occasion bears the signatures of such eminent persons like Joseph Hume (M. P.), John Bright (M. P.), George Thomson, John Briggs, Major General R. Robertson, James Grant Duff. etc. and the inscription on the plaque is "A memorial of sincere respect and esteem to Rajamanya Rajeshree Rango Bapuji of Satara."

The birth date as well as the date of Rango Bapujee's death still remain unknown. There are grounds for assuming that he was born about 1800 or a little earlier. In 1817 he seems to be serving with the E. I. Company under Captain Briggs. His loyalty towards his master, the Satara Chatrapati, was unbounded. His struggle in London against the company's administration is unparalleled. After his defeat in the constitutional fight in London he had warned the English

people that he would tell his people (Indians) that they would not get any justice from the English.

There is no doubt that Rango Bapuji was probably one of the leading spirits of 1857. Kaye himself has said this. (P. 578-I). Rango Bapuji and Azim Ullah Khan, the trusted friend and vakeel of Nanasaheb, seem to have had a broad idea of the trend of world events at that time. Both of them took active part in the National Rebellion. Rango Bapuji had tampered with British Indian troops at Kolhapur, Belgam, Dharwad and Satara. (Treason Trials at Satara and Kolhapur). Says Le Grand Jacob in his book Western India, (page 158,) "Rango Bapuji took advantage of the Satara situation and in conjunction with Nanasaheb became a leading conspirator in 1857-58." He was betrayed by his friend but managed to escape. He was never traced and nothing is known about the end of this brave fighter. The memorial gives in a nutshell the whole story of the injustice done to the Satara Royal family.]

RUNGO BAPOOJI'S PETITION TO LORD JOHN ELPHINSTONE

(POLITICAL DEPARTMENT VOLUME $\frac{100}{1408}$ OF 1855)

To

THE RIGHT HONORABLE LORD JOHN ELPHINSTONE,
Governor and President in Council, Bombay.

My Lord,

I beg with all due deference to bring to your Lordship's information the deplorable circumstances connected with the painful case of His Highness Shahoo Maharaj the present rightful and sole heir to the throne of Satara.

In the year 1817 the late Bajee Rao, being the Paishwa or Prime Minister of the Mahratta Empire, usurped its Government, and made the late Rajah Pertaub Sheaw (the father of His Highness Shahoo Maharaj) his captive and contrary to the desire of His Highness made war against the East India Company. In consequence of this and by the direction of His Highness the British Commisioner of Poona, the Honorable Mountstuart Elphinstone, then acting under the authority of His Excellency Marquis Hastings,

Governor General of India, did on the 11th of February 1818 issue and publish a proclamation addressed in the name of His Highness to the Mahratta nation warning all its Princes, Chiefs, Nobles, and people to refrain hostilities against the East India Company and commanding them to abandon the Paishwa under pain of treason in case of disobedience to His Highness. The proclamation also stitpulated that when and as soon as His Highness was released from the Paishwa's captivity (although his Highness was the sole sovereign of the Mahratta Empire) he should be placed at the head of an independent sovereignty adequate to His Highness' dignity and lineage (His Highness being the sixth Rajah of Satara in descent from Seewajee the founder of the Empire of the Mahrattas).

In the year 1819 a friendship or intimacy was formed between the late Maharaj Purtab Shean (the father of His Highness Shahoo Maharaj) and the British Government and for the purpose of strengthening holding firm and cementing a perpetual friendship between the Prosperous and valiant English Goverment and His most Illustrious Highness Purtaub Shean of High antiquity, nobility and grandeur and his noble heirs and Royal descendants, a Treaty was passed on the 15th September 1819 and owing to the hostile state of India in that year the British Government proposed to His Highness that for the adjustment, good rule and Government of Territory and for further arrangements and acquittance of His Highness and his Highness' Ministers and Officers with the affairs of the State and Territory, the Officers of the British Government should for some time carry on the affairs of the kingdom in the name and with the advice and consent of His Highness, so it was mutually agreed and the affairs of the state were accordingly carried on until the 5th day of April 1823. On this day W. Chaplain Esquire came to Satara and at a Levee and audience in His Highness' Court, gave over into the possession of His Highness the late Maharaj Purtab Shean the whole Rule and administration of the state and sovereignty in the presence of His Highness' Principal Chief Jageerdars and others who had assembled on the occasion. A proclamation was also on that day promulgated under the signature of that British Officer enjoining both the great and small Chiefs and people an implicit obedience to the Orders and Commands of His Highness as their Sovereign and Ruler and from that day His Highness Ruled and Governed his Kingdom in tranquillity and peace to the entire and highest satisfaction of his subjects and the Governor of Bombay then Honorable Mountstuart Elphinstone who, highly gratified at His Highness' just administration, addressed a most

flattering letter to His Highness on the 12th September 1826 expressing an ardent wish for the prosperity of His Highness and His Highness' Kingdom with the most solemn assurance that His Highness and His Highness' family from generation to generation would enjoy His Highness' sovereignty and principality in perpetuity.

The first ground of dissension between the Rajah of Satara and the Bombay Council was that the Rajah was repeatedly deceived by that authority during the time he was urging his claims to a recognition of his Sovereignty over Certain Jagheers specified in the Treaty of Honorable Mountstuart Elphinstone of 1819. The decision of the Court of Directors in favour of the Rajahs' claims on those Jagheers was entirely concealed by the Council of Bombay from the Knowledge of the Rajah in violation of the express instructions sent by the Court of Directors to make known fully that decision to him.

In the month of August 1832 the local Government Originated a Cause of dispute about the boundaries of the Estates of some Jagheerdars. These Estates were as aforesaid under the power and sovereignity of His Highness and the Bombay Government was fully aware of it but to put His Highness in trouble and incur the displeasure of the Court of Directors the Local Government instigated His Highness to write to his friends in England about the dispute in question in direct opposition of His Highness' wishes who remonstrated the impropriety of such a step. However His Highness addressed letters to Honorable Mountstuart Elphinstone, General Robertson and captain Grant Duff about his just claims over these Jagheers and the uncalled interference of the Local Government in the matter, requesting them to make the same known to the Court of Directors. These letters were transmitted through the Resident to the Local Government who treachourously forwarded them directly to the Court of Directors but they were severely reprimanded for doing so and their conduct as well as their intereference were severely censured by that Honorable Body. These letters were sent back with instructions to the Local Government to apologize in a becoming manner to his Highness for returning the leters, as communications on public affairs to Individuals at Home caused great inconvenience to the authorities in England, assuring in the mean time that His Highness could rest confident and rely on the Court of Directors showing utmost consideration to His Highness' rights and interest without the interventions and good offices of others and in their letter of the 26th September 1834 the Local Government were most severely

reprimanded for interfering in a question that did not come under their jurisdiction with instructions to admit the Rajah's authority in all cases save those where it did appear that the Jagheerdars from Established practice in Paishwa's time were exempt.

The Local Government in order to show that they entertained good feelings towards the Rajah made from time to time a true report to the Court of Directors about the prosperous and well regulated state of His Highness' Kingdom and that—Honorable Body in token to their esteem and regard towards the welfare of His Highness sent a letter through the Local Government dated 29th December 1835 expressing their full approbation and high gratification at the exemplary fulfilment of the duties of His Highness' Elevated situation and the Court of Directors impressed with the sentiments of approbation, respect and applause transmitted a sword to His Highness ; but both the letter and the sword alluded to have been hitherto concealed and kept in oblivion by those authorities and indirect violation of the Orders and instructions of the Court of Directors allowed the dispute about the Jagheers to take its Original Course.

In the year 1836 the Local Government finding themselves sadly disappointed on their claim of what did not lawfully belong to them in respect to the Estate of the Jagheerdars and the Court of Directors having shown their favour towards His Highness, the Local authorities therefore meditated upon His Highness' ruin and for this purpose they trumped up a false accusation coupled with most abominable falsehood and intrigues representing that His Highness had Corrupted the English force stationed in his Territory and that His Highness had induced other Princes to bear Arms against the British flag and to forward their foul views and ill designs made an untruthful representation to the Governor General regarding the above unfounded accusation against His Highness without any satisfactory explanation to maintain the charge. The Local Government at the same time recommended that a Commission be appointed to enquire into His Highness' case consisting of Officers under their authority but the Governor General was against their opinion and far from taking any immediate steps for fear of his acts being censured by the Court of Directors. However the Local Government made repeated untrue representations to the Governor General who was compelled to bring them to the notice of his Superior in England and the Court of Directors in reply wrote to the Governor General on the 13th June 1838 desiring him to furnish them with his review of the proceedings in the case strongly recommending him in the mean time to avoid any

interference in the matter giving it as their decided opinion that it would not only be a waste of time but seriously detrimental to the character of their Government to carry on any further enquiry.

The tricks played by the Local Government in the combination with the Governor General did not end here but continued until September 1839 to His Highness' serious and detrimental ruin and on the 6th of that month Sir James Carnac then Governor of Bombay had the first personal interview with His Highness when he passed his minute recalling to His Highness' recollection that he had come to Satara to decide finally all pending questions. His Highness made frequent solemn declarations that he had committed no breach of alliance. Sir James Carnac however wished that the Rajah should sign Mahratta Memorandum which would bring guilt upon His Highness' innocence. Consequently His Highness remonstrated as to the impropriety of such a requisition and Sir James Carnac finding that he could not obtain the signature he so much desired, left the matter unsettled and quitted Satara. Under these circumstances His Highness was deprived of the consolation of fairly vindicating his unblemished character. So he resolved upon sending a deputation to the authorities with a view of affording a full and concise explanation about the course the authorities had adopted towards His Highness and His Highness accordingly deputed me to represent his case to the authorities in England. In the mean time His Highness was dethroned (without the sanction of the Honorable the Court of Directors) on the 5th of September 1839 and after plundering all His Highness' personal and private property sent him to Banares as a State Prisoner.

To commence with a minute narrative of all that took place in England in connection with His Highness' lamentable case would indeed require reams and reams of paper. I will however briefly advance a true statement of what occurred during my stay there. On my arrival in England I was made fully aware of the intrigues the Local Government had adopted towards strengthening their plot against His Highness that would as a matter of course heap calamities over calamities over His Highness by my residence in London. I therefore wrote to His Highness on the subject and in reply I was desired to maintain his cause assuring me that his friends then would assist me in my undertaking and in fact His Highness' friends in London proved to be friends indeed as they spared all they could to urge the ends of an impartial justice in respect to the false and abominable charges preferred against His Highness. During

my stay there I indeed feel it my bounden duty to express my thankfulness to His Highness' friends at the cordial reception and courtious bearing with which they treated me. I had access to both Houses of Parliament, Public meetings and in forwarding my views to meet the end of justice. I met every where with a ready response and while so engaged I had intelligence of the illness of His Highness who was in a most dispotic and cruel manner, dragged from his Throne and exiled in a country, the unhealthiness of which was undermining his constitution and rendered tenure of his life uncertain and His Highness under the uncertainty of a long existence in the vale of tears made his last will and Testament on the 10th of October 1845 adopting as his son and heir to His Highness' kingdom, Throne, property (Private and public), rank, station and person in conformity with the Hindoo Religion, Trimbuckjee Rajay Sesodey Bhoslay and this adoption was accordingly acquiesced by the mother of the Infant Gunawuntabai. This Will was made for the purpose of making known His Highness' wishes and last intentions to the Right Honorable the Governor General of India, the Court of Directors, the Board of Control, the Houses of Parliament and Her most Gracious Majesty the Queen in Council. A copy of this Will was forwarded to me in England by His Highness who having been however restored to health survived for two years and his health again failing His Highness therefore made a supplementary Will confirming his intentions and wishes expressed in his last Testament above alluded to and in this Supplementary Will His Highness distinctly disclaimed and rejected as a sovereign and husband of the Rannee any proceedings of her in case she should so far forget the respect she owes both to His Highness as well as to herself as to be instrumental in signing either for herself or for His Highness' son any paper involving the renouncement or sacrifice of any portion whatever of his rights connected with the Sovereignty and Territory of Satara, as His Highness truly anticipated that the Agents of the Company would avail themselves of the opportunity of tampering with the weakness of the Rannee by menaces or promises or other means suitable to prevail the Princes to waiver or renounce her rights and in this Will myself and Yashwuntrow Mulhar Pundit Dewan were nominated and constituted executors to execute His Highness' wishes and last intentions ; but this Will has not been recognized by the English authorities as a valid document and the executors have also shared the same fate of being recognised quite indifferently. Now the question is whether Her Majesty's Supreme Court in England and her dependencies admit the validity of such a document or the negative but if affirmatively so under what act of

Parliament does the Government of India and the Local authorities in Bombay act upon which leads then to disrespect His Highness' Will.

On the dethronement of His Highness Maharaj Purtaub Shean his brother was placed on the throne and a Proclamation was issued on the 5th of September 1839 under the signature of Colonel Ovans then Resident of Sattara to the effect " That the British Government having no views of advantage and aggrandizement had resolved to invest His Highness' brother Appa Saheb next in succession with the sovereignty of Sattara State and was thereby declared Rajah of Sattara under the Title of Shreemunt Maharaj Shahjee Rajah Chuttaraputtee of Sattara requiring of all persons residing within his Territory to render allegiance". The said Appa Saheb ruled and governed the kingdom of Sattara for about 9 years and before his death which took place on the 5th of April 1848 adopted a boy of Royal family but of a distant relation as his son heir and successor.

I beg to quote for your Lordship's information the substance of several communications passed between the Home authorities and the Government of India. The Home authorities in their letter, dated 7th of March 1849 ordered that a sum of 50,000 Rupees be paid to the Rannee to defray the funeral expenses of her husband (His Highness Pertaub Shean) and a written acknowledgment being required of either Her Highness or the Dewan of the Ex-Rajah. The Court of Directors therefrom in the same letter stated that if the Rannee refused to give a receipt for that amount it was unnecessary that the Governor General should persist in requiring it and that the Dewan's receipt would suffice and that they saw no objection to taking the receipt of the adopted son if his adoption was regular, the Ex-Rajah as a Hindoo having an unquestionable right to adopt a son and to transmit to him all private rights of whatever description.

The Indian Government in their letter of April 1850 submitted for the orders of the Honourable the Court of Directors a question about the allowance to be made to the Rannee and the adopted son. The allowance made to His late Highness Purtaub Shean was 10,000 Rupees a month and on his death it was reduced to 800 Rupees which the Rannee refused. The Government of India therefore recommended that a sum of 1,200 Rupees be paid to the Rannee and the like sum to the adopted boy on condition of a written renunciation by both the Rannee and the boy of all claims or his part to the Raja of Sattara or at all events of the

discontinuance of the designation of Rajah and of all marks of sovereignty ; but the Court of Directors in the sixth paragraph of their letter, dated 19th July 1850 addressed to the Governor General on the above conditions distinctly objected to it in these words "We do not attach any value to the renunciation alluded to and are of opinion that the enforcement of it would invest an undue importance. It is also our opinion a matter of indifference what designation they may assume in private and as regard the return of the Rannee and Ex-Rajah to Sattara, the Court of Directors added in the seventh paragraph of their letter above alluded to the following words "Their detention should not however be unnecessarily prolonged. We presume that the return of all other adherents and dependents of the family will be permitted and encouraged".

On the day Appa Saheb died a Proclamation was issued by Mr. Frere the then Resident informing all officers of the State of the Maharajah desiring them to continue in the discharge of their several duties under the control of the Resident until the orders of the British Government should be known and on the 1st May 1849 the Resident (though the British Government had no views of advantage or aggrandizement) further notified in advertence to the aforesaid Proclamation that he had received a letter from the Secretary to Government, dated 1st May 1849 intimating that the Right Honourable Governor General of India in Council under the authority of the Court of Directors had been pleased to order that in consequence of his late Highness Shreemun Maharaj having died without heirs (though Shahoo Maharaj was the rightful heir to the Throne both as the adopted son of his late Highness Purtaub Shean and as the nephew of the late Appa Saheb and who was then claiming the Raj of Sattara) entitled to succeed to the sovereignty of Sattara the Territory comprised therein is to be considered as having lapsed to the power by which it was granted and was thenceforth annexed to the British Empire in India.

During my stay in London a special meeting was convened on the 1st of May 1849 at the India House for the purpose of deciding by Ballot the claims of His Highness to the kingdom of Sattara. Your Lordship may not be incurious to know how this kind of thing is managed in Leadenhall street and what it there means.

A centre Table is occupied by two Directors having each a balloting Urn before the Table on each side by two clerks who write down the ballator's name. A proprietor coming to vote or before he had turned to utter a word he is thus apostropheared by the

clerk, the worthy who administers the declaration, "Are you come to support the Court (meaning of course the Court of Directors)" in the very hearing of one of the Directors who is there placed ostensibly to see that the balloting is fairly and impartially conducted. It indicated as plainly a word so delivered could that if the proprietor did not come to support the Court his presence there was an intrusion. So much for the spirit of this ballot. To understand why certain Directors headed by Mr. Charles Mill called for it your Lordship should know that at any ordinary Court each Proprietor of the East India stock has only one vote when the Court proceeds to a division—upon any resolution before it but at a ballot he is one gentleman rolled in two three or four as the case may be and promised as many votes as his Stock enables him to hold. This is what the Directors call taking the sense of the Proprietors and this is the outrage upon common decency which under the guise of a public charter to rule India they have perpetrated on that occasion.

I beg to state for the information of your Lordship that at the time the Rajah Purtaub Shean was removed Captive from Sattara, the East India Company by Sir James Rivett Carnac, Governor of Bombay gave the Rajah a written guarantee and pledge dated 30th August 1839 in the following words, "An annual allowance will be assigned from the Sattara Revenues for the support and respectability of himself and those members of his family who may choose to accompany him. Further that all property belonging to him *bona fide* private and not appertaining to the State will on his peaceable submission not be interfered with", which written guarantee was three times repeated subsequent to such disposal.

I further beg to inform your Lordship that the Rajah Purtaub Shean did according to Hindoo Law adopt as his son the infant Shahoo Maharaj and by his will, dated 10th October 1845 which was executed and published by him at Benares according to the form of that Law he declared and directed that Shahoo Maharaj should succeed him in his rights, property (private and public) titles and in every thing appertaining to his rank station and person and that the Rajah did immediately publicly and in a formal manner notify this adoption to the East India Company through Lieutenant Colonel Carpenter the Officer then having the custody of the Rajah at Benares, which adoption the East India Company at that time never questioned.

Allow me to bring to your Lordship's kind notice that His

present Highness Sahoo Maharaj is by birth the lawful and only son and heir of the late Bulwantrow Rajah Bhoslay Shennaputty who is the near relative of the Rajah Purtaub Shean and supposing that the Rajah and the Rajah's brother Appa Saheb were set aside he was the proper representative of the family. Bulwuntrow was also carried away Captive from Sattara with the Rajah Purtaub Shean and expired of grief on the journey to Benares leaving His Highness Shahoo Maharaj born on that journey a fatherless infant and further that upon the death of Appa Saheb the sovereignty of the State of Sattara and the public property which by express letter and spirit of the treaties descended of right to the next heir of the deceased Rajah His Highness Shahoo Maharaj but the East India Company upon pretence of a failure of male heirs to the both Rajahs claimed and seized the State and Kingdom of Sattara.

His Highness Shahoo Maharaj is not only the adopted son of the Rajah Purtaub Shean but also his male of Kin and also sole heir of the Rajah Appa Saheb. Even if the fact of adoption had not taken place he would according to the Law and to the second Treaty have equally inherited upon the death of the Rajah Appa Saheb in such his character of male heir and next of Kin and that therefore both by adoption and by blood Shahoo Maharaj is now the undoubted lawful heir of the Rajah Purtaub Shean as also of the Rajah Appa Saheb, but in the face of all these facts establishing the rights of Shahoo Maharaj the East India Company have hitherto wholly refused to acceede to his application made on this behalf and have hitherto retained possession of the State of Sattara and of the public and private property and effects belonging to Shahoo Maharaj and claim in the name of British nation the right to retain and appropriate the same and they have accordingly appropriated and retained the same.

I have repeatedly presented to the East India Company the complaints of His Highness Shahoo Maharaj touching the grievances and wrongs done to him and sought reparation for the same; but all my complaints have been unheeded or rejected without examination or enquiry and that to add to those grievances and also with a view of compelling Shahoo Maharaj to renounce and abandon the prosecution of his claims in that behalf the East India Company did for several years deny to him and to the widow or Rannee of the Rajah Purtaub Shean both detained prisoners at Benares (where the infant had been kept since his birth) the means of subsistence for himself, the said Rannee and for their retainers until such a time as they should

agree to a written renunciation or abandonment of Shahoo Maharaj's claims and in furtherance of their purpose of forcibly compelling this Infant to agree to such renunciation and abandonment the East India Company have by withholding from the Rannee for about four years the means of subsistence for herself and her household procured form her some document whereby she hath (as they allege)—debarred herself of her right to concur with me in my present Petition and the Court of Directors in defiance of their expressed opinion against the renunciation acquisced in the proceedings of the Governor General in respect to the extreme measures he had resorted to and the evil arrangements he had made to obtain the renunciation in question; but I am advised and submit that in as much as the Ranee hath no jurisdiction over Shahoo Maharaj nor power to sign away his rights he being an infant and a minor any such document even if the same be genuine or valid against the Ranee and even if not extorted from her under duress and starvation must be—and is as against His Highness Shahoo Maharaj wholly inoperative and void.

By reason of Shahoo Maharaj being treated at Benares as a political prisoner although entitled to be a Rajah by birth or adoption the Local Courts of the East India Company are prohibited from entertaining the matter of his complaint in the premises while by reason of the forcible detention of his person by the same power which refuses to hear him at the very same time that it degrades and beggars him he is prevented from placing himself within the jurisdiction of Her Majesty's Supreme Court in India and seeking justice from them.

Having urged the claims of His Highness Shahoo Maharaj to the Throne of Sattara for fourteen years both in the Houses of Parliament—the—India House and at public meetings, I was at length given most distinctly to understand by the Court of Directors that the rights and claims of His Highness would be restored to him and being at the same time solemnly assured that instructions would be sent to their authorities in India ordering them to place His Highness on the Gaddee of Sattara and on this settled arrangements they caused me to sign a document the contents of which were said to be that I should not go to London and carry the prosecution again but this document is now made null and void owing to their refusing to place His Highness on the Throne of Sattara.

I requested for a copy of their letter instructing the Local

authorities here to cause His Highness to be proclaimed as the Rajah of Sattara but it was unfurnished as being contrary to the Court's usual practice, however the Court of Directors having paid all the debts I had contracted during my stay in England and having provided me and my two attendants with a free passage in the Steamer conveying the overland mail of the 4th December 1853, I then returned to Bombay.

On my arrival in Bombay I had an interview with the Chief Secretary to whom I expressed my wish of seeing your Lordship by appointment. When I again proceeded the next day the Chief Secretary then desired me to state in writing what I had to say to your Lordship. I did so and delivered over the same to him on the ensuing day when I was informed that I could not see your Lordship as your Lordship had been to the residence of His Excellency the late lamented Commander-in-Chief on learning of His Excellency's much regretted death which took place on that day. However a few days subsequent to this said event I had the honour of receiving a letter from the Chief Secretary acknowledging the receipt of my Yaddee and referring me to the Commissioner of Sattara. I accordingly, proceeded to that place and on my way I met His Highness Shahoo Maharaj in Company with Her Highness the Rannee and their followers and attendants who were also going to the same destination. I therefore joined and accompanied them to Sattara and on my arrival I sent in a letter to the Collector Mr. Rose requesting his kind permission to wait on him for a reply to a petition presented by me to your Lordship requesting in the mean time that he would appoint a time at which it would be convenient for him to give me an interview and in reply I received a letter from that functionary, dated 27th November 1854, No. 1044 wherein he stated that there was no occasion for me to wait on him to receive the decision of Government on the subject of my petition to your Lordship and further informed me that your Lordship did not recognise me as the representative of any member of the family of the Ex-Rajah of Sattara and that he would not receive any communication from me addressed to Government in the capacity of the Agent of His Highness Shreemun Maharaj Rajay Shree Shahoo Maharaj Chuttraputtee Sirkar of Sattara but my letter being only simply signed I wonder whence the Collector derived the information that I was acting as such.

Your Lordship is our worthy Governor and Head of this Government of Bombay. I presume to address your Lordship on behalf of the surviving members of the Family of Sattara, of a people

will confer an everlasting obligation on His Highness, His Highness' distressed family and on me.

With most ardent and cordial wishes for your Lordship's long life and prosperity,

I beg to subscribe myself
My Lord

Your most obedient humble servant,

Rungo Bapoojee Vakeel of
H. H. Shahoo Maharaj.

Bombay, October 1855.

IV

CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES

PROSELYTISING ACTIVITIES OF CRISTIAN MISSIONARIES

[Proselytising activities of Christian missionaries was one of the important factors that contributed towards popular awakening in the first half of the 19th century. In the early years of the Company's rule, Government had a desire to maintain neutrality in religious matters. But it appears, sometimes some responsible officials, as for example Mr. Fisher, acting Governor of Bombay (1841), actively helped the missionaries. Activities of the latter soon assumed aggressive proportions and caused great commotion in cities like Bombay and Surat. Parsees were much agitated and large amounts of money were spent by them on carrying on counter-propaganda against missionaries by publication of books, pamphlets, booklets, etc. Vishnubuwa Brahamachari next took up the challenge (1855) and carried on this wordy crusade on the Chaupati Sands. But he was gagged by Government. This agitation went on vigorously till about 1857.]

ACTIVITIES BEFORE 1857

Government in the beginning appeared to be having a strictly impartial policy in religious matters. They did not want to give any offence to the people ; on the contrary they wanted to assure them that they would not allow any propaganda in favour of Christianity. Thus we find that two missionaries who had gone to Poona (about 1824) were not allowed to organize mission activities there, and when they persisted in it during their stay, they were, it appears, kept under detention (life of Justice Ranade—Marathi—by Prof. N. R. Phatak, page 183).

From the correspondence published in the name of " a native " in the *Bombay Samachar* (A Gujarati weekly—11th February 1841) and also from the comments in the Bombay Courier (4th March 1841) it seems that two Parsi boys were converted to Christianity by the local Presbytarian Mission. The Courier states " As both the boys gave up the religion of their fore-fathers, there was great excitement amongst the native (Parsi) population. The Parsis boycotted the Missionary schools withdrawing their children from them, " whose chief aim was the spread of Christian religion ". The Parsi Community organized resistance on this occasion. They sought legal

assistance and went up to the Supreme Court. It seems they also lodged complaints with highest authorities in England; but nowhere they could succeed. How the highest Government officials also used to take part in such activities was proved when a public reception arranged in honour of the Hon. Mr. Fisher was effectively boycotted by the Bombay public (February 1841). Mr. Fisher who was the senior member of the Governor's Council had also worked as acting Governor. It was alleged that Mr. Fisher had helped the Missionaries in their proselytising activities when he was acting Governor. At the time of Mr. Fisher's retirement from the service a public meeting was organized as mentioned above by the Europeans in the city of Bombay in appreciation of his long meritorious services by creating scholarships in a Missionary Medical School from a memorial fund which was proposed to be raised from the public of Bombay. "This meeting was opposed by the native population of Bombay particularly the Parsis." A correspondent in the *Bombay Samachar* (11th February 1841) stated "I am sure nobody would join in the move for the collection of the fund. Any body who gives money to patronize a Missionary school will help proselytisation of the natives. So no native should attend this meeting". This meeting was duly held in the Town Hall on the 19th February 1841, under the Chairmanship of Mr. James Henry Crawford. The native population effectively boycotted it. Only two natives, one Parsi and the other Muslim attended it. The Europeans were surprised by this demonstration of unity and strong opposition. One of them Mr. John Iskiner went to the length of saying, "the natives have shown their ingratitude to Mr. Fisher who had done so much for their welfare and who was their true friend. The natives thus have insulted Mr. Fisher". Mr. Iskiner even proposed a resolution at the meeting recommending that natives be excluded from contributing to the fund. However, better Counsel of the Chairman prevailed and the proposal was rejected (*Bombay Samachar,* 21st February 1841).

The then Governor Sir James Carnac while speaking before the students of the Elphinstone Institution took pains to emphasise the value and use of English education which was meant for their happiness and welfare. He asked the Europeans also to help the natives without any selfish motives (*Bombay Samachar,* 25th March 1841). Sir James Carnac in his talks with the Professors and scholars of the said Institute declared that in order to banish fear of proselytisation and other apprehensions, small or big, the Government had instituted a board of education and entrusted to it the work of education (*Bombay Samachar*, 1st April 1841).

"ZULUM OF THE PINDHARI PATTERN"

Another incident of conversion to Christianity created the same sort of hue and cry in the city in the month of May 1841. This was described as "Zulum on the pattern of the Pindharies" by some newspapers. In this instance a 16 year old boy Sorabji according to the report in the *Bombay Samachar* (27th May 1841) left his house and was traced in the house of a Missionary. His old mother and sisters went there and tried to persuade him to come back but they did not succeed. Sorabji, "because of the various inducements and temptations offered by the missionaries" refused to go with his mother. He was the only son of the aged mother. She cried and cried and also sought police help. The police took the boy to the Mazgaon Police Court where in the enquiry it was found that the boy was illiterate but it was his wish to adopt Christianity. The lad refused to go home to his mother. So the police took him the next day to the Missionary's home where he was converted to Christianity.

The *Bombay Samachar* writing on this incident states "We cannot describe in words the misery and torture of the mother of the converted boy. She is suffering from old age and poverty. Have these missionaries and those who patronize them thought for a moment how miserable they themselves would be if their son was beguiled to court a religion other than that of his fore-fathers? We ask, 'what does this immature and illiterate boy who does not know his mother language properly (Gujarati) nor has any knowledge of his own religion understand about the Christian religion? And what advantage the Missionaries bring to their religion by converting such boys of tender age and who have not much intelligence also?'"

Critising the attitude of Government the paper writes "When the British Rule in India began the people were given a guarantee that their religion would be protected and no harm would come to the people. Last time when two Parsi boys were converted to Christianity the natives made a petition to the Government expressing their grievance and feelings. The authorities replied that they would not interfere with religious matters and would keep aloof. This would not do. They should do more than that."

"In earlier times Pindharies plundered and tortured the people and the rulers (native) connived at it and allowed them to plunder as they (rulers) also used to have their share in the loot. Similarly the Government of the day do not prevent the missionaries who are like the Pindharis and allow them to torment the people and

do what they like. The Government only says "we do not interfere." Old rulers used to serve their purpose through the Pindharis ; British rulers, it seems serve their cause through the missionaries. This is confirmed, if what we read in Calcutta newspapers is true. If that is true then we would say that the Government is openly helping the missionaries. We read from Bengal newspapers that the Government intends to bring a bill to enable the Hindus to share in their ancestral property even after their conversion to Christianity. This proves that the Government has employed Christian Missionaries for the spread of Christian religion in the country".

At the end of the article the paper has appealed the Government to stop this "Pindharis like zulum of the Missionaries and to restore the trust and contentment among the people wherein alone lie the security and strength of the State."

(*Bombay Samachar,* 30th May 1841).

MISSIONARIES AND OFFICIALS JOIN IN VANDALISM

The following instances will show how some officials and missionaries used to make common cause in persecuting Hindus. Nasik, it seems, was a favourite place for such activities. That being a Holy place, missionaries used to gather there for their propaganda. Their method of persecuting the Indians is described in the following instances :—

The *Bombay Samachar* (4th November 1841) reproduced a version from the Marathi Journal *Prabhakar.*

The paper reports :—

1. "The Sub-Collector of Nasik Mr. Rivaj and Christian Missionaries residing in the city slaughtered a cow near the Renuka temple. When the Brahmins approached the Sub-Collector with their grievances, this official proudly proclaimed of having the deed done by himself and that he would do it daily.

2. The same Sub-Collector Mr. Rivaj ordered the body of a Sanyashi to be removed from a Samadhi which was in the Rama Parabrahma Math in Panchavti. The prisoners from the jail were called for the purpose and were ordered to dig out the body. After the body was taken out from the Samadhi it was thrown on the road.

3. About 5,000 Brahmins from far and near had collected at the temple of Balaji on the river bank for a Holy dinner on the 14th September 1841. When the Brahmins were dining, the Christian Missionaries collected in an adjacent building and threw bones and dirty water on the feasting Brahmins. The result was that the whole crowd of the Brahmins dispersed in distress and fright, leaving the dinner incomplete."

When the Brahmins took the complaint to the Collector, he said "what matters if water was thrown".

The Brahmins lodged a strong protest in a petition made to the Governor listing all the grievances. The Government had asked for a report from the said officer.

Bombay Samachar (14th November 1841).

It was reported and confirmed by the petition made by the Brahmins of Nasik to the Governor that two years back when Brahmins had assembled at the same place for some Holy feast an European official galloped on horse back through the row of the dining Brahmins. Provoked by the insulting Act of the European the Brahmins pursued the offender and a clash ensued. The Magistrate taking side of the European, sentenced the Brahmins with fine and imprisonment.

Afterwards, the complaint was taken to the Governor, Sir J. Carnac who ordered to set the Brahmins free.

Bombay Samachar (3rd June 1841).

V

1857 RISINGS IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

SATARA TREASON CASE

[The following extracts are taken from the proceedings of Treason Trial held at Satara under Regulation XIV of 1827 from 27th August to 7th September, 1857, when 17 persons were tried and sentenced to death. They were executed on the 8th September, 1857, on the Ghenda Mal, Satara. These extracts bring to light the nature and extent of rebellious activities in the Deccan. The Chief leader and organiser of these activities was Rango Bapuji who had started collecting men from December, 1856, for raising a rebellion (*vide* case depositions). The object of this rebellion was "to arrest all the Europeans at Sattara and Mahabaleshwar simultaneously, release prisoners, plunder the treasury and install Shahu, the adopted son of Pratapsing, on the Gadi." Rango Bapuji knew the loyalty of Satara people to their ruling dynasty and according to his expectations people joined him; they had great respect for Pratapsing. Rango Bapuji had expected to raise an army of about two thousand men and his assistants in this project included Daffedar Karkhanis, Balaji Shimpi (Satara), Doulata Powar (Karad), Tatya Phadnis (Kolhapur), Shete brothers (Bhor), Annamama Chitre (Mahad), Babahhat Aitwadekar, etc. His son Sitaram was also amongst them. Rango Bapuji moved in the Satara and Bhor regions extensively and had also visited, it seems, Kolhapur, Belgaum, Shahapur, Pandherpur sides. Some of the Sepoys from the 22nd N. I. were tampered by Mansing, a peon in the Sessions Court. Daffedar Karkhanis had assured Rango Bapuji that the Swars would not retaliate if an attack was made by rebels. The plan was an extensive one and as Mr. Forbes, the president of the special court has stated, was "ripe one" and had precautionary measures not been taken in time by the British "rebellion would have broken out in the course of a few days" with frightful results. But Mansing was detected, tried and blown from the gun on the 12th June, 1857. The other leaders of the rebellion were arrested in August and the plan was foiled. Rango Bapuji escaped and was not traced. Other original letters* sent by Raja of Bhor to Rango Bapuji have been found which prove that this Raja was deeply involved in this plan and was helping Rango Bapuji.]

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* These letters were secured from Bhor by Shri V. S. Bendre, Poona, who kindly allowed them to be used by this office.

The Charge Sheet

[Extracts from Political Department, Volume 29 of 1857. (297 Page)]

No. 37 of 1857.
Judicial Department.

From

CHARLES FORBES, Esquire,
Acting Judicial Assistant Collector,
Sattara.

To

H. L. ANDERSON, Esquire,
Secretary to Government, Bombay.

Sir,

With reference to your letter No. 1292 of 1857, dated 13th August, to my address, I have the honour to forward a true copy of the Proceedings of the Special Court composed of the officers mentioned in the margin held for the trial of seventeen Prisoners who were all convicted of Treason and sentenced to death (which punishment was inflicted) and confiscation of their property for the benefit of Government, under the provision of Regulation XIV of A.D. 1827, section VII.

President

C. Forbes, Esquire.

Members

Coll. G. Malcolm

&

Capt : J. Rose.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

Charles Forbes

Acting Judicial Assistant Collector.

Sattara Adawlut :

6th October 1857.

"PROCEEDINGS HELD BEFORE CHARLES FORBES, ESQUIRE, LIEUTT. COLONEL GEORGE MALCOLM AND CAPTAIN JAMES ROSE, COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF SECTION VII ACT XIV OF A.D. 1857 FOR THE TRIAL OF OFFENCES AGAINST THE STATE MURDER ETC."

CHARGES

Thursday, 27th August 1857

With Treason in the two following instances 1st Charge

1st. In having between December 1856 and June 11th, 1857, at several times and places within the Sattara Province entertained men and asked men to join them for the purpose of making War against the Government of the East India Company by attacking the Station and Town of Sattara, plundering the Government Treasury and releasing the Prisoners in the jail.

2nd. In having between December 1856 and June 11th, 1857, at several times and places within the Sattara Province, but chiefly during the months of April, May and June 1857 at the Town of Sattara conspired to rebel and wage war against the Government of the East India Company by plotting to attack the Station and Town of Sattara, plunder the Government Treasury and release the Prisoners in Jail.

With Concealment of Treason before the act

In having at various times between December 1856 and June 11th, 1857, at various places within the Sattara Province become aware that Rungo Bappoojee Goopte and other men were conspiring to wage war against the Government of the East India Company by plotting to attack the Station and Town of Sattara, plunder the Government Treasury and release the Prisoners in the Jail, and in having concealed this knowledge from the Government authorities.

List of persons charged as above

The following were the persons who were produced before the Court for trial on the above charges:—

1. Narayan (Nana) Bapu Pawaskar (Sonar).
2. Munaji *alias* Bapu (Narayan) Babar (*alias* Bhandirge).
3. Keshav Neelkanth Chitre (brother-in-law of Rango Bapuji).

4. Shivram Moreshwar Kulkarni (Bahushrut).
5. Sakharam Balvant Chawan.
6. Ramji Bapuji Chavan *alias* Ramsing.
7. Babia Rangoo (Kangoo) Shirtode.
8. Babia Nathia Gaikwad (Mang).
9. Yesha Nathia Gaikwad (Mang).
10. Namia Naiquo Chawan.
11. Shivya Somjee Patole.
12. Parwatee Vithoji (Ganesh) Salooka.
13. Vithal Kondi Wanknis.
14. Ganesh Sakharam Karkhanis.
15. Paltoo Yesu Ghatge.
16. Seetaram Rangrao Gupte (son of Rango Bapuji).
17. Nana Umaji Mudkey.

Government produced the following witnesses on behalf of the prosecution:—

1. Sakharam Dajee Kabade, occupation Writer, Sattara.
2. Haree bin Raghojee Deorukhakar, Sonar, Jukatwadee (Satara).
3. Balkrishna Waman Pradhan, Writer, Parhur, Bhore (Satara).
4. Kooshaba *alias* Krishnajee Dajee Pradhan, Cultivator, Parahur, Bhore (Satara).
5. Atmaram *alias* Appa bin Bababhut, Mendicant, Aitwaday, Walwa (Satara).
6. Gopal Ramchandra Regey, Cultivator, Kasei, Satara.
7. Antajee Haree Ksheersagar, Writer, Araley, Satara.
8. Martund Bhugwant Dhigge, Writer, Scind, Bhore, Satara.
9. Ganesh Anunt Gambher, Writer, Massorey, Satara.
10. Hybuttee Wullud Sukkoo, Ramosee, Bhoregaon, Satara.
11. Venkoo bin Baba Shastree Nandeokar, Mendicant, Satara.
12. Bulvant bin Norojee Jankar, Cunabee, Bhoregaon, Satara.
13. Babjee bin Haree Raoot, Cultivator, Dhavdee, Satara.
14. Peerkhan Wullud Chandkhan Sheikh, Neyrey, Sattara.
15. Ragho Venketesh Buhooshroot, Writer, Cherey, Satara.
16. Babaji bin Bapuji Yadav, Beetul leaves seller, Satara.
17. Ganga, widow of Mansing Pardeshi, Sattara.

The trial started on 27th August, 1857, and was concluded on 7th September, 1857. All the witnesses were examined and statements of the accused were taken. The account given by witnesses Nos. 1 and 5 Sakharam Dajee Kabade and Atmaram Bababhut and the confession recorded by accused No. 16 Seetaram Rangrao Gupte are reproduced below, as they cover important points in the evidence.

1. EVIDENCE OF SAKHARAM DAJI KABADE

Sukharam Dajee Kabade, caste Shenvee, age 32, occupation writer, residing at present in the city of Sattara, but Inhabitant of Yekmulie deposes on solemn affirmation.

I am acquainted with the Prisoners No. 1 Narain, No. 2 Munajee, No. 3 Keshow, No. 4 Shewram, No. 5 Sukharam, No. 6 Ramjee, No. 7 Babia, No. 8 Babia, No. 9 Yeshia, No. 11 Shivia, No. 14 Ganesh and No. 15 Paltoo.

In last January and February Shewram Koolkarni No. 4 came to my house in Sattara and said that Rungo Bappoojee the Maharah's Vakeel was collecting men for the purpose of recovering the sovereignty for the Kasee (Benares) Rajah. Gopal Ramchandur my maternal cousin accompanied Shewram No. 4 for the purpose of introducing him to me. Shewram No. 4 remarked to me, "there are a great number of Mangs and Ramoosees in your village, whom I wished to enlist for service, but they would not agree" saying that your consent was first required. I told him to bring them to me, and I would speak to them, he then left. All this I mentioned at that time to one Damodhur Mulhar Dadey, residing in Sattara, who repeated it to the Prisoner No. 1 Narain. The Prisoner No. 1 Narain and 2 Munajee came to me in the month of March and told me they were collecting men throughout the country. Shewram Prisoner No. 4 told me, that Rungo Bappoojee had told him that the men were to be assembled for the following purposes. The Europeans were first to be captured, and if they resisted they were to be killed. That the Government Treasury was then to be plundered and the Prisoners in the Jail released to assist them. What Shewram No. 4 told me I repeated to the Prisoners No. 1 Narain and 2 Munajee who then went to Wurahungur, Kulumbee, Kurar and Arulley to collect men. These two prisoners returned from Arulley with two of Rungo Bappoojee's relations named Kooshaba Purbhoo and Bulwuntrao Purbhoo whom they had met there, and brought them to the house of the Prisoner Narain No. 1 where I also went and was then and there told by Kooshaba and Bulwuntrao that Rungo Bappoojee was raising men throughout the country to restore the Maharajah to the Throne. They asked me also to raise men but I told them that Shewram Prisoner No. 4 had already spoken to me on the subject. The day following this Kooshaba and Bulwuntrao left saying they would return in four days, which they accordingly did along with Keshow Neelkunth the Prisoner No. 3, and the three told me that Rungo Bappoojee wished me to join him with the men that I had collected. I at once went with Babajee, Yadhow, Samboolee, Kooshaba and

Bulwuntrao aforesaid, and the Prisoner No. 3 Keshow to a village named Ahmedabad, distant one koss from Sattara. Then I met Rungo Bappoojee outside the village. It was night and Rungo Bappoojee was attended by four or five men whom I did not recognize but one or two looked like Brahmins or Purbhoos and the others Coonbees. I was acquainted with Rungo previous to this. He told me that he had been to England to plead for the restoration of the Benares Maharajh's Dynasty but without success, but that notwithstanding he was determined to effect his object, and that the Governor Saheb had given him a written order to raise men and seize the "Saheblogue" in the Sattara Territory that he (the Governor) was coming either to Sattara or Mahableshwur, and that he must seize him (the Governor) also and demand from him the restoration of Sattara, his compliance with which demand was to be the condition of the release of the "Saheblogue", but that failing compliance War was to be made and murder of Europeans and plunder was to be the order of the day. Rungo also added that he himself had been engaged in this plot for the last three years, and asked me what assistance I could afford him in the prosecution of the same. I replied that Shewram No. 4 had already engaged my services which I was rendering. The Prisoner Keshow No. 3 then remarked that he had been raising men in the Bhore country, Poorundhur and Mahableshwur, and had collected 500 men and was going to Mahableshwur in four or five days to raise an insurrection. On this Rungo said to me that Keshow had arranged about Mahableshwur and he himself was coming to Sattara in two or four days to look about him. I then returned to Sattara along with Babajee Tamboolee. Some five or six days afterwards in the month of Chytra (April) Rungo came to my house accompanied by Kooshaba and Bulwuntrao aforesaid and Keshow *alias* Annamama the Prisoner No. 3. Rungo, Kooshaba and Bulwuntrao remained three days in my house, Keshow No. 3 having left immediately after their arrival and during that time plotted together and also with many others who visited them. So many came to visit them, that I was afraid as I was a Carkoon in the Nazir's Office, my name would be brought forward and therefore, told them they must leave my house, which they accordingly did, and went to live in the house of Babajee Simpee in the Mungulwar Peth. During the time that Rungo Bappoojee was in my house, Mansing a Peon in the Jail used to visit and plot with him. Shewram the Prisoner No. 4 about eight days after this returned from Yekumlee bringing with him prisoners Babia Mang No. 8 and Yeshia Mang No. 9. Malya Mang and Suttoo Ramoosee, all of whom I told to listen to what Shewram No. 4 had to say to them, and to afford assistance if they could in the Rebellion. The four agreed to do so, and returned at once to their village to collect as many men as they could. Whilst

Rungo was in my house Sukharam and Ramjee the Prisoners Nos. 5 and 6, and other Bhore people used to visit him there, and Sukharam and Ramjee told me that Rungo had directed them to collect men for the Rebellion, that they had raised some, and that they had come to Sattara to raise more. These meetings continued for about 2 or $2\frac{1}{4}$ months, until Mansing was apprehended. Haree introduced his acquaintance and fellow townsman Babia Ramoosee the Prisoner No. 7 to me to join in the plot, but he Babia told me that Haree had already spoken to him about the plot, and that he Babia had arranged a plan for breaking open the Jail and taking the Prisoners into the plot, but that it had failed, and that he was going to make another attempt when the Prisoners were out at work, adding he knew of a Thousand or Twelve Hundred men at Belgaum, whom he could bring, but that it would take fifteen days or a month to do so, but that in the meantime he would raise one or two hundred men in his neighbourhood. About this time Shewram the Prisoner No. 4 brought Shivia Ramoosee No. 11 who said that Shewram the Prisoner No. 4 had engaged him to assist in the plot, and that he (Shivia No. 11) was going to raise men when they came to the "Juttra" near his village in Chytra (April) when a number of Mangs and Ramoosees yearly assembled there. Shivia No. 11 said that Shewram No. 4 ought to come to the "Juttra" and receive charge of the men from him, in which Shewram No. 4 acquiesced. During the time that Rungo was at Sattara, he said that the *Ghenda Mahal* Regiment (Local Corps) the Mogolai Sowars (Southern Mahratta Irregular Horse) in which latter corps he said he had a relation, and the Regular Infantry had been gained over to the plot. I recognize the Prisoner No. 14 Gunesh Sukharam as a person who once or twice came to visit Rungo, but I was not aware then that he was a Sowar. I did not know that he was a Sowar until one night that Rungo asked him in my presence, how is it with your people, and he replied 'we are ready, and I have arranged that the Sowars will remain passive when you have all assembled for the attack'. This occurred about 8 or 10 days before Mansing was apprehended in the 22nd Regimental Lines about the plot, and about the same time Sukharam the Prisoner No. 5 remarked that 200 men armed with Matchlocks were coming from Bhore but that they required powder and shot, on which Narain Prisoner No. 1 having consulted Rungo about it employed one Atmaram *alias* Appa Aitavadeykur to cast about 800 bullets, which I saw subsequently in No. 1 Narain's house. The bullets now shown to me in the Court resemble them.

2. EVIDENCE OF ATMARAM BABABHUT

Atmaram *alias* Appa bin Bababhut, age 30, caste Brahmin occupa-

tion Mendicant, Inhabitant of Aitawadey, Taluka Walwa in the Province of Sattara deposes on solemn affirmation :—

I am acquainted with the Prisoners Nana (Narain) No. 1, Munajee *alias* Bapoo Babur No. 2, Mama No. 3, Shewram No. 4, Sukharam No. 5, Ramsing No. 6, Babia Ramoosee No. 7, Nos. 8 and 9 whose names I do not know, but they belong to Yekmulie, Gunesh Sukharam No. 14, but not with the others. Some time after last Falgoon Shoodh Poornima (10th March) I happened to be at Sattara and was taken one day by Sukharam Dajee (witness No. 1) and Damodhur Dadey to the house of the Prisoner No. 1 Narain, who with Sukharam told me, that the Benares Rajah's Vakeel Rungrao Bhore was plotting a Rebellion, that they were engaged in it, and asked me to join them and raise any men of my acquaintances for it. I at first refused but afterwards agreed to do so as they wished me. The Prisoners Nos. 1 and 2 Narain and Munajee were employed going about collecting men and returned to Sattara about the second of Chytra (April) and told me that they had met with a person who had raised a number of men and was coming on the following day. Next morning at 9 O'clock the Prisoner Mama No. 3, Kooshaba the witness No. IV, and Balkrishna the witness No. III came to the Prisoner (No. 1) Narain's house and Mama No. 3 said to him "We are ready, how many men have you raised." Narain (No. 1) said he had got some men, but had not assembled them, and then asked Mama who and where were they, and he, Mama replied at Bhore, Poorundhur, Wathar and Wurdhungur. Narain (No. 1) on this said to Mama (No. 3) "If you have got so many men, what need have you of mine" and Mama replied "you must assemble your men at Sattara and I will reinforce them with 5 or 7 hundred of mine and with the remainer, I will go to Mahableshwar and the attack must be made on it and Sattara the same day. Anna Mama (No. 3) also told Narain (No 1) that he must seize the Europeans at Sattara, make a clear success of the camp and plunder the Treasury whilst at Mahableshwar he would seize and massacre the Sahebs there. Narain (No. 1) then asked Mama (No. 3) what day it was to take place on and he answered in 7 or 8 days, and the two agreed then to assemble their men in eight days. Mama (No. 3) then left to assemble his men, and he despatched Kooshaba the witness No. IV to do the same. I returned home to Aitawadey in consequence of the death of my child, and returned to Sattara on Jesht Shoodh 1st (24th May) and asked Sukharam Dajee the witness No. I what had been done about raising men and he said they had not yet assembled, but that Rungrao Bhow and the Prisoner Nos. 1 and 2 (Narain and Munajee) had gone towards Wurdhanagur fifteen days since to collect men and would soon be back. Four or five days

after this they returned but in the meanwhile, the Prisoner No. 5 Sukharam and Ramsing Ramjee No. 6 and four of five other men whom I did not know arrived at Sattara from Bhore and Ramsing No. 6 told Sukharam Dajee (witness No. 1) in my prsence and also in that of the Prisoner No. 5 (Sukharam) that they had collected 2 or 3 hundred men in Bhore. Sukharam replied that Rungrao Bhore was expected and that when he came the arrangements would be made. After Rungrao Bhore returned he took up his operators in a Gossain's " Wada " near Krishueshwer's temple and the Conspirators consisting of the Prisoners Narain (No. 1), Munajee Bappoo No. 2. Mama No. 3 who was living with Rungrao Shivram No. 4, Sukharam No. 5 and Ramsing Ramjee No. 6, Dowlutta Pawar of Kurar and Kooshaba used to assemble there. At one of the meetings which was held at night Rangrao Bhore asked them to tell how many men each of them had assembled, he having got his.

3. STATEMENT OF PRISONER SEETARAM RUNGRAO GUPTE

My name is Seetaram Rungrao, caste Purbhoo, age about 31, Profession that of a writer, Inhabitant of Moujey Karee, Illaka Bhore in the Province of Sattara.

My father Rungo Bappoojee lived for some time at Ahmedabad in the Sattara Taluka where I also came in last Chaitra (April). On this occasion my father and my mother's cousin Keshow Nilkant *alias* Anna Mama Inhabitant of Devaley, Taluka Mhad constantly held secret consultations within or without the house saying that they wanted to raise men for a Rebellion. I and my father were at variance and therefore they did not take me into their consultations. At this time Mulharrow the brother-in-law of Tatia Fudness Waidya Purbhoo came to Ahmedabad from Kolhapur accompanied by two Coonbees and on my asking him the object of his visit he told me that he had come in search of a wife for Tatia Fudnes who was going to get married. After a conversation with Rungo Punt they both went to Boregaon and I went home to Bhore. After this Anna Mama returned to Kase from Poorundhur and asked me who were Rungoba's friends in these parts. I therefore introduced him to Mansing Yenowdeekur and Martandrao Purbhoo who always used to come to him (Rungo Bapooji). What conversation took place between them I do not know, but I heard Ramsing say before me that he would join him at a moment's notice at such place as he wished. Martandrao said to me that my father Rungo Bapooji was going to raise a rebellion, advised me not join him and to take care of myself. Keshawrao Anna Mama then went in the direction of Poorundhur towards the village of the Mookadum who had been

dismissed from the road repairing works and told me that he had been there for eight days. I cannot call to mind the name of the village, nor was I told the reason why he went there. Anna Mama said that he had come to see Rungo Bapoojee who was then at Sattara. I was censured in a case of the Patil of my village then before Mr. Rose and therefore came to Sattara about Waishak (May) last but as the papers of that case were with Rungo Bapoojee who was then at Boregaon in the Walwa Taluka, I went there and found him at Gadey Wadu near Boregaon where he had returned from another village. My cousin Balkoba was with Rungo Punt who told me that they had been collecting men for the rebellion that Nana Ramoshi Koondulwadeekur was ready to join with him men but wished to be introduced to the Rajah, to which Rungo Bapujee would not consent and therefore he refused and he (Balkoba) was looking out for more men. I then asked Rungo Bapoojee for the papers and was told by him that he intended visiting Sattara when he would give the papers to the Vakeels there. I then went and lived in Boregaon to see the children of my relations Dadarao as they were ill, some of whom afterwards died. I was at Boregaon for about two months during which time Appa Wunjaree of Boregaon, Rama Scinde, Jotee Nahvee, Hybuttee Ramosee, Bulwanta Jaikur Patil and Gopalrao Dalwee of Khed came to me expecting to know everything as I was Rungo Bapoojee's son and said that it was an agreed point between them and the Bhao Rungo to join in the insurrection and they had always interviews in the house of Appa Wunjaree. Gopalrao Dulwee (Committed suicide after being apprehended) used to say that he would collect men to join in the insurrection, provided I entered into a written agreement with him, but I refused. Afterwards on a Tuesday about the 15th of June Appa Wunjaree who had gone to Sattara with a letter from the Chitnees, the inamdar of Boregaon returned to say that people were being apprehended on account of the intended rebellion at Satara, that my father Rungo Bapoojee had already fled and told me therefore to look out as I would be apprehended. Upon this I got terrified and on the 18th June as I was planning where to go Govind Purshuram with brother-in-law of Dada Rao, my relative with whom I had put up was returning to Kolhapur after visiting his sister who had lost her children and I accompanied him. I had scarcely crossed the river Warna when I was followed by Bhao and Bulwanta Patels and Hybuttee Ramoshee of Boregaom. We five remained that night at Wudgaon and went to Kolhapur on Friday and put with Keshowrao Purshuram. On the following day the 20th June (Saturday) Keshowrao with the three aforesaid persons went out and took me to the house of some one whose name I know not and Tatia Fudnes the cousin of Purshuram also came there and addressing himself to the

seven or eight Gudkurrees (Coonbees) who were sitting there said to them, come raise a Rebellion and co-operate with these people who have come from Boregaon, upon which they remarked that they were still suffering for having once risen and that therefore they would not join in such a thing again unless headed by some responsible person. Tatia then said that he would consider over the matter in the afternoon and there we broke up. About three O'clock in the afternoon we viz. five of the seven or eight men that had come in the morning, a stranger who had not appeared in the morning, the two patels and one Ramoshee of Boregaon, Keshav Pursuram and I assembled in the upper storey of Tatia Fadnees's house and were waiting for Tatia Fadness to resume the subject when we were taken prisoners. I had told the two Patels and the Ramoshee of Boregaom, near the Warna, when they joined us that accordingly to Appa Wunjaree's account Rungo Bapooji had fled. Bhao Patil said that that was false observing that he had been informed by Rama Scinde that Rungo Bappoojee was at Katgaon. I have not seen Rungoo Bappoojee since Waishak last (April and May) and as he was the principal and active agent in the affairs of the Rebellion he has made off and most probably will not remain in this country but go to Madras to his friend Mr. Brown a Resident of Tellichury from whom Rungo Bappoojee had received a letter two years ago. I was on two occasions taken to the place where consultations were being held as to the Rebellion that was being raised, because they wanted to show some principal and responsible person and as I was the son of Rungo Bappoojee who is well known, I suppose they took me there on that account. I was not however told of this when they took me there, but after I had gone there Tatia Fudnees mentioned in the assembly the fact of my being the son of Rungo Bappoojee and the principal person in that (Sattara) Part. I think this must have been in contemplation from the time when in Chytra last (March and April) his Tatia Fudnes's (brother-in-law) came to Ahmedabad and was living with Rungo Bapoojee and when both of them went to Boregaon.

SUMMARY OF THE EVIDENCE

The story of the plot as revealed in the evidence of the case can be summarised as follows :

Rango Bapuji Gupte with the sure co-operation of his son Seetaram and his brother-in-law Keshava Neelkanth Chitre as well as with the aid of Ganesh Sakharam Karkhanis, the Daffedar in 22nd Native Regiment, wanted first to paralyse the East India Company's Government and then to replace the same, by recreating Gadi of Satara for

Pratanshinha's adopted son, Shahu by name, better known as the Jungli Maharaj or the Kashee Raja at the time. The exact date of the plan did not come out but it must have been by the middle of June. It is suggested very clearly by the evidence.

All the witnesses told together that Rango Bapuji Gupte moved from December 1856 to almost the beginning of June 1857, through the tract between the Bhor state and the Belgaum district and tried to secure recruits from the Mangs, Ramoshees, Kolies for his plan. It was given out by way of make belief that the "Nagai Devee" of Arale had predicted that a rebellion was sure to take place that year. This was not so much believed, as the deity at Kharusundi did not coroborate the prediction. By way of propaganda, it was also given out that the Governor of Bombay had been convinced about the injustice done by the East India Company to the Satara Gadi and had himself asked Rango Bapuji to raise a rebellion. But the persons that joined the rebellion did not value even this propaganda. They participated in the plan because they had a genuine loyalty to the Royal family at Satara on one hand and wanted a respectable service in the Swarajya.

During all those six months and specially during the latter half of the said period, Rango Bapuji and his men tried their best to raise money, men and means to achieve their end. Yenevada, Wathar, Deur, Wardhangad, Aravi, Kalambee, Karad, Arale, Arbujabad, Yekmullee, Jakatwadi, Phaltan, Pandharpur, Belgaum, Shahapur and Kolhapur were important centres of recruitment. Since April at least Rango Bapuji actively moved from place to place though his head quarters were generally at Satara. Even in Satara proper, Rango Bapuji used to live in different places at different times. Balaji Shimpee's (Mangalwar Peth) house, Gossavi's Wada near the Krishneshwar Mandir and Sakharam Dajee Kakade's residence near the Vithoba Null were some of the resorts of Rango Bapuji. Tatya Fudnis at Kolhapur, Daulata Power at Karada, Keshava Neelkanth *alias* Anna Mama—Rango Bapujee's brother-in-law in Konkan, Shetye brothers in Bhor, Ganesh Sakharam Karkhanis were some of the notable adherents and agents of Rango Bapuji.

Rango Bapuji gained adherents true to their salt. Mansing was sure to induce the 22nd Native Regiment to rise against the European officers and Daffedar Karkhanis had made a solemn promise that no Swar would retaliate the attack of the rebels. Persons like Nana Ramoshee of Kundal, out of their fidelity to the Satara Royal family, had to be convinced regarding the sympathies for the rebellion, of the Kashee Raja. It was done through Vithal Kondi. It was clear

to such persons that though the Kashee Raja himself kept mum out of policy, Kakasaheb—probably Shirke Sardar—encouraged the rebellion. That was sufficient. Shivaram Moreshwar Kulkarni *alias* Bahushroot had been the moving spirit of the plot and Seetaram, the son of Rango Bapuji seems to have been entrusted with general supervision as well as with the duty of infusing enthusiam and encouragement in the recruits. There had been maintained connecting links between Rango Bapuji and Seetaram as well Sakharam Daji Kabade, the custodian of all plans. Daulata Hari Powar of Karda, Anna Fudnis of Satara who had direct connections with Chimasaheb of Kolhapur, Keshavarao Kilse and a lot of persons including the Ramoshees like Malia and Sattya—all influential persons in their spheres of activity were trying their level best to help Rango Bapuji for the success of the rebellion. Appa Aitavadekar with his Scientific efforts prepared bullets, Narayan Pawaskar and his relatives made acquaintances of Ramoshees and Mangs experts in attack and atrocities. But the connecting link between all those forces was Rango Bapuji's selfless service to the Satara Gadi. The greatest misfortune of the rebels was that the very friends of Rango Bapuji like Sakharam Daji Kabade and Appa Aitvadekar were witnesses on the side of the East India company. Seetaram proved bold enough to admit that he had himself taken part in the rebellion till he was arrested on the 20th June, 1857.

THE FINDING OF THE COURT

At the end of the trial the Court registered its finding as under :—

"The prisoners are charged with treason and concealment of Treason before the fact in as much as at various times between December 1856 and 11th June 1857 and places within the Sattara Territory they entertained men and asked men to join them for the purpose of making war against the East India Company by attacking the station and town of Sattara, plundering the Government Treasury and releasing the Prisoners in the jail and further in as much as at various times, between the dates aforesaid, but chiefly during the months of April, May and June they conspired together in the town of Sattara to rebel and wage war against the Government of the East India Company by plotting to do the above mentioned overt acts and further that at the above times and places they became aware that Rungo Bappoojee and others were conspiring to wage war against the Government of the East India Company by plotting to do the aforesaid overt acts and concealed this knowledge from the Government authorities.

To the above two charges, the Prisoners pleaded as follows : —

No.	Names.	1st charge.		2nd charge.
		1st count.	2nd count.	
1	Narain bin Bapoo Pawaskar ...	Guilty ...	Guilty ...	Guilty.
2	Munajee *alias* Bapoo bin Narain Khandirgey *alias* Babur.	Not guilty ...	Not guilty ...	Do.
3	Keshav Nilkhanthi *alias* Annamama Chitrey.	Do. ...	Do. ...	Not guilty.
4	Shewaram More Buhooshroot ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Guilty.
5	Sukharam bin Bulwanta Chawan.	Do. ...	Do. ...	Not guilty.
6	Ramjee bin Bapoojee Chawan ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
7	Babia wullud Rungoo Sirtoda.	Do. ...	Do. ...	Guilty.
8	Babia wullud Nathia Guicawad.	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
9	Yeshia wullud Nathia Guicawad.	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
10	Namia wullud Naikoo Chawan ...	Guilty ...	Do. ...	Do.
11	Shivia wullud Somajee Patola ...	Not guilty ...	Do. ...	Not guilty.
12	Purwuttee bin Wittojee Salooka.	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
13	Withal Khundo Wankniss ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
14	Ganesh Sukharam Karkhaniss ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
15	Patloo bin Yessoo Ghatgey ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Guilty.
16	Seetaram Rungrao Guptey ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
17	Nana bin Oomajee Mudkey ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.

The Prisoner Sukharam when called on for his defence made a full confession of his guilt merely adding that he made no rebellion, meaning thereby that the overt acts contemplated were not carried in execution—whilst the Prisoner Babia Ramosee No. 7 who pleaded guilty, when called on for defence, retracted his plea, and denied even his knowledge of the meaning of the word "Bund" Rebellion, much less any participation in or concealment of such a crime.

The conspiracy appears to have had as its chief Rungo Bapoojee (the father of Seetaram No. 16, the brother-in-law of Keshaw No. 3 and caste fellow of Ganesh No. 14) who has not yet been apprehended and for his object the placing of the "Kasee" Benares Rajah on the

throne, the simultaneous night attack on the station of Sattara and Mahableshwur, the murder of the European Inhabitants at both these places, the plundering of the Government Treasury and the release of the Prisoners in the Jail. The exact dates on which the simultaneous attacks were to have been made, has not come out in the evidence and the contemplated Rebellion never actually occurred, owing to a providential timely warning which put the authorities on the alert and the apprehension the day following the said warning of one of the conspirators Mansing who was captured on the 12th June whilst endeavouring to seduce the allegiance of the 22nd Regiment N. I. stationed in this camp, and has since been hung. His apprehension seems to have been the signal for all the conspirators to disperse and subside as much as possible into themselves for concealment and safety. The Prisoner No. 16 Seetaram alone excepted, who by his own showing was caught at Kolhapur on the 20th June whilst in company with certain others who were endeavouring to raise a Rebellion there. This is a general outline of the conspiracy, the details are furnished by the witnesses who were all more or less mixed up and concerned in it and the confessions of certain of the Prisoners themselves. Direct evidence except from some parties cannot be expected in a case such as this but their evidence generally speaking is here so corroborative of each other and confined in most particulars by the confessions of those of the Prisoners who do confess, that it may be considered good and trustworthy. They are seventeen in number and all for the Prosecution and some of their Depositions very lengthy, the court has therefore made an Abstract "A" of the most prominent points of their evidence telling against or for the different Prisoners and at once proceeds to record its verdict and sentence against each of the Prisoners, alluding only in doing so to the number of the different witnesses on whose evidence the convictions were obtained.

ALL WERE SENTENCED TO DEATH

The court then pronounced the sentence of death on all the seventeen accused. The court decreed sentence to be executed in three different ways. Accused Nos. 1, 3, 4, 13 and 16 were to be hanged ; nos. 2, 5, 8, 9, 14, 16 and 17 were to be blown from guns ; and nos. 6, 7, 10, 11; 12 and 15 were to be shot by musketry.

ECHOES OF 1857 RISING IN GUJARAT

[The Rebellion of 1857 in North India had its repurcussions in Gujarat. Although there was no mutiny by any of the Government's army regiments, the entrance of Villayatis, Rohillas and Rajputs into Gujarat from the North and Central India, encouraged the warlike communities of Bhils, Kolis, Thakardas and Naikdas to rise in revolt against established authority. The disturbances spread all over Gujarat, some of the centres being Nandod in Broach district; Dohad, Pala, Jambughada and Godhra in the Panch Mahals; Sunth in Rewankantha; Chandup, Partabpur and Angar in Mahikantha; Khanpur in Lunawara state; and Dubbora in the Gaikwar State. The rising at places took such a threatening attitude, that Government took to the inhuman course of burning down villages. It was entirely because of the support of Maharaja Khanderao of Baroda, that the Government were able to preserve peace in Gujarat. The Resident of Baroda, Sir R. Shakespeare, frankly admitted that "we are not strong enough to hold Gujarat and coerce the Gaikwar, but we are strong enough to hold Gujarat under any excitement by leading the Gaikwar."

A special feature of the Gujarat rising was that they were a rebellion of certain sections of the masses and not a mutiny by armed forces as in North India or at Kolhapur in the South. The entrance of Tatya Topey's defeated forces into Gujarat via Chhota Udepur, intensified the popular risings and the Naikdas of the Panch Mahals continued their disturbances for a number of years. The plot in 1857 to attack and loot Ahmedabad and take possession of the Baroda Gadi was nipped in the bud and the subsequent effort in 1865 by supposed emissaries of Nanasaheb Peshwa to effect a rising in Gujarat and Kathiawar was unearthed before it could take any shape.

The following pages give pertinent extracts from Government records concerning the above mentioned happenings in Gujarat. With a view of providing the historical link for a clear understanding of the source material, pertinent extracts from Government Gazetteer volumes are given wherever possible.]

1. RAJA OF RAJAPIPLA IMPLICATED IN NANDOD DISTURBANCE, 1857

["About the middle of August information was given by the Chief of Rajpipla that a certain Syed Morad Ali was trying to organize a disturbance at Nandod, the Chief town of the Rajpipla territory. The chief asked for help, as he believed the head of his

troops had been tampered with by the Syed, and that the men of his militia were inclined to join his mercenaries in revolt. On the 17th of August, Mr. Rogers, taking with him two hundred Native and fifty European troops, started for Nandod. But the Syed had taken alarm and fled." *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. II, Broach District, page 477].

The following account has been summarised from P. D. Volumes 45, 47, 48, 50 :—

The acting Magistrate of Broach in a demi-official note dated 2nd August 1857 to the Political Secretary to the Government of Bombay informed him that the Raja of Nandood forwarded " a seditious notice written in the Hindustanee language which was found a few days ago pasted up in the town of Nandood. The notice is supposed to be in the handwriting of Syed Morad Allee whom we have been trying to apprehend for some time past and calls upon all the Mussulmans, all Rajahs and Nawabs by the most sacred Mahomedan adjurations to slay the English, wherever they are to be found and assist the army of the king (said to be countless but its location and the name of its master are not stated) in which case they will certainly be exalted by the said king.

" The Superintendent of Police has reported to Captain Buckle the misconduct of the Mamlatdar of Nandod in allowing this Morad Allee to remain at large on bail, when a Jemadar of the Horse Police whom we sent out for him, had apprehended and handed him over to his custody thus giving Morad Allee an opportunity of escape which he has availed himself of. It is supposed that he put up this notice after he had thus baffled his pursuer and I have written to the Rajah to use his last efforts to have him apprehended." (P. D. Vol. 45 of 1857, p. 393-394.)

The acting Magistrate of Broach in a letter dated Broach 17th August 1857 informed the Government of Bombay that " the Superintendent of Police has this day received a letter from the Subedar of Seebundies at Nandod that the Scindee Jemadar had collected 300 or 400 men and if assistance was not immediately sent up, intended to attack all well affected to the British Government, burn and plunder Nandod and retire to the fort of Rajpipla in the hills, that his own Seebundees are giving in their resignations and taking service with the Jemadar." (P. D. Vol. 47/Comp. 166 p. 107-108).

The Acting Collector in a letter dated 14th August 1857, informed the Government of Bombay that 'Yesterday received a letter from the Rajah of Nandod asking the authorities here to send up one hundred men on account of the Arab Jemadar who became security for Syed Moorad Allee, having harboured that person in his house, and collected 50 or 60 men to defend him in case an attempt being made to seize him.

"The Rajah said in his letter that the Mussulman population were in the excited state but as their numbers are insignificant, I apprehend nothing from what they are able to do." (P. D. Vol. 47, p. 121-122.)

Mr. Rogers the acting Magistrate of Broach arrived at Nandood on 20th August, 1857. In a communication dated 21st August, 1857 to Captain Buckle, acting Political Agent, Rewakanta, he wrote, "The Rajah in my opinion deserves severe censure if not temporary deprivation of authority by way of warning to others for not putting a stop to them (the activities of the Jamadar and Syed Morad Allee.)".

Captain Buckle reported to the Government of Bombay for their information in a communication dated 6th July 1857 the explanation he had received from the Rajah of Rajpipla "on the subject of his having given a sudden order for the repairing or remounting of some guns."

"The Rajah explains that the guns alluded to are in the hill fort of Rajpipla and that some of those which have been always used at Dasserah had been injured by falling in of a shed, he had given orders for the repair of the shed and of the gun-carriages also. He also very strongly deprecates any suspicion of disloyalty arising out of these circumstances." (P. D. Volume 43 of 1857, p. 87).

MAMLATDAR ARRESTED

Lieut. Hawthorn, Commanding Detachment of 9th Regiment N. I. at Nandood in a communication dated 7th September 1857 to the Adjutant, 9th Regiment N. I. reported that "The Mamlatdar of Nandood.....was in reality opposed to the Government's interest and that he had made use of the following words :

'The English Government is a thing of today, it will not last, the Rajah is firm and his authority will always last here.'

"I reported this to Captain Nicholson, the Acting Political Agent, who after making enquiries considered it necessary to immediately

officials were shut up in the fort, in which were 14 of Scindhias arrest the Mamlatdar who is now a close prisoner in my quarter guard. Since his confinement, further evidence has been procured fully proving him a traitor to the Government whose pay he was receiving." (P. D. Volume 50 of 1857 p. 160-161.)

2. DOHAD MAMLATDAR MADE A CAPTIVE, 1857

The Resident at Baroda informed the Government of Bombay in a letter dated 16th July 1857 (page-304) that on the news of the outbreak at Indore reaching Scindia's Panch Mahals a Kannungh and some Mahomedan Wuttandars assembled followers and attacked Captain Buckle's Thanadar at Dohud. (P. D. Vol. 431, compilation 136 page 304).

Captain Buckle in a letter dated Fort Dohud 18th July 1857, reported to Major General Roberts, Commanding N.D.A. Ahmedabad, (P. D. Vol. 45, page 123) that, "A mahomedan rebellion broke out in Dohud on the night of the 6th instant at 10 p.m. directed by the Kanoogh named Tyleydarkhan, a person of no influence, holding an Enamee village in Dohud Purgunna, worth about 2,500 rupees also lands yielding an income of Rs. 500 per annum. The Mamlatdar and the officials were shut up in the fort, in which were 14 of Scindhia's drilled police, also 8 pathans with subedar Hoosein Shan Khan, 24 Kusbatees and 14 Sowars.

"No agress was allowed to the Government officials from the fort by the rebels and shots were continuously fired during the night. This state of affairs continued from 6th to 11th instant when the insurgents decamped."

In a letter dated 31st July 1857, Captain Buckle wrote : "My search commenced on the 8th instant by which time the spirit of rebellion had reached the Mahomedan population of Godra where insurrection was only prevented by the advance of the troops. The Dohud rebels fled on the night of the 11th instant. The troops headed by a few of Scindhias' drilled police whom I had brought on for the purpose, took possession of the fort on the 13th instant.

"On the 8th instant a party of 1 Subedar and 30 men of the police sent on by me from Godra to assist the garrison, were intercepted in the Barrea Jungle by a Mahomedan sepoy of Deoghur Barrea (supposed to be connected with the Dohud rebels) who raised the Bheels upon them and forced them to halt." (P.D. Vol. 46 of 1857, page 139.)

On 24th July 1857 Captain Buckle reported to the Government that, "fifteen prisoners were apprehended on a charge of high treason in having been concerned in an attempt to subvert Her Majesty's Government in India at Dohud." (page 163, P. D. Vol. 45 of 1857).

Government appointed Captain Buckle a commissioner for the purpose of trying these prisoners on charges of treason under the provisions of Act IX of 1857 (page 165, P.D. Volume 45 of 1857.)

These prisoners were tried and were convicted. Captain Buckle reported to the Government of Bombay on 24th August, 1857, the results of the trial of these fifteen prisoners.

The conviction and sentences were as follows :

One Prisoner convicted of treason—14 years transportation with hard labour.

Nine Prisoners convicted of armed rebellion, sentenced to transportation for life.

One Prisoner acquitted.

Four Prisoners convicted of armed rebellion and of additional crime of having forced with threats of death certain persons to proclaim the king of Delhi in the streets of Dohud, sentenced to death. "Sentences of death passed on 4 prisoners were carried out this morning (24th August 1857), they have been blown from guns." (page 231, P.D. Volume 48 of 1857.)

R. H. G. C. while approving of the proceedings of Captain Buckle informed him that a native prisoner should not be sentenced to transportation for any period short of life.

(Page 235, P. D. Volume 48 of 1857.)

3. MUSTAFAKHAN COLLECTS THE WULAYATEES, 1857

Disaffection in "Wulaitees" which Sir Richmond Shakespear, the Political Commissioner in Gujarat in 1857 termed as "Wulaitee Movement" was, to a large extent responsible for mutinous activities in Eastern parts of Gujerat and Western Malwa.

Scindees, Makranis, Kabulees and Arabs were commonly known as

"Wulaitees" (meaning foreigners). They were the armed mercenary soldiers who were widely employed as retainers or Seebundees with Rajahs, Nawabs and petty chiefs in Gujarat and other parts of the country about the middle of the 19th century.

At the time of Mutiny they were in employment of every big or small state and had grown in power and in many cases they were out of control of the Durbars who had engaged them.

Rajpipla, Soonth state, Dhar, Umjeera, Ali Rajpoor, Bhopawar, Vinjhur and like places were seething with discontent and the movement of Wulaitees in those places was the cause of deep concern and anxiety to the British authorities.

Captain Buckle the acting Political Agent, Rewakanta, in a communication No. 437 of 1857, dated 1st September 1857, to Major General Roberts, Political Commissioner, Ahmedabad, made observations on the power of Wulaitees in these words :

"An authentic observation of the external relations of the chiefs in this part of India, has convinced me that the Wulaitee servants are fast becoming, if they have not already become, the masters and I think it my duty never to lose an opportunity of bringing this conviction to notice—at this moment the power of Wulaitees is fatal to the cause of order and is used to foster rebellion". (P. D. Volume 48/Comp. 187 of 1857, p-394, para 4).

Captain Buckle again in a letter dated Camp Dohud, 7th September 1857 to the Government of Bombay reverted to the same theme and pleaded for the suppression of the growing power of Mahomedan mercenary soldiers.

He wrote, "Daily observation confirms the impression of the injury to Government caused by the employment by the chiefs of one class of men exclusively, that class being the one most opposed to our own interests, intensely ignorant and assisted by North Country men of their own religion who have the reputation of being invincible. I attach so much importance to the necessity for the suppression of the growing power of Mahomedans of this class in native states, when our means permit that I believe I should fail in my duty did I not bring the subject to the notice of His Lordship in Council".

(P. D. Volume 48 of 1857, p. 573, para. 4 and 5.)

REBELLION IN SOONTH

Rebellion in Soonth State by a Jemadar named Mustapha Khan wullud Sitarkhan is one of the instances of the fact that Wulaitee Seebundees were no longer in the control of the Durbar who employed them.

Captain Buckle, in a communication dated Camp Dohud, 21st August 1857 to Major Roberts reported that such thorough disorganization prevailed in the Soonth state that he (the Rajah) was unequal to making an ordinary arrest even of a Koli subject, and remarked that "the Rajah's internal helplessness was further exhibited by an application for assistance against the exactions and threats of Charrons and latterly by the rebellion of his Mahomedan soldiery under Jemadar Mustapha Khan". (page 194, para. 2).

"Though I do not consider that Government is bound to comply with the requisitions of effete and incapable petty sovereigns against their own subjects unless state reasons and opportunities render interference desirable, yet it appeared to me that a display of our power in Soonth where the idea of approaching Mahomedan Empire was paramount, would in this instance be highly conducive to our own interests. I proposed therefore to send an officer with a strong party of the Gujerat Horse on a visit to the Rajah for a week or two." (page 195, para. 3).

"Latterly the rebellious proceedings of Jemadar Mustapha Khan have rendered a movement indispensable to our own honor". (page 195, para. 4).

".....It appears that this man compelled the Rajah to set aside the order of the Political Agent as regards the father's claims and by the unauthorized enlistment of men within the limits of this Agency, he became a rebel to the British Government as well as to the state of Soonth".

(P. D. Volume 48/1857, page 194, para. 5.)

The Raja of Soonth in a letter dated 24th July 1857 intimated to the acting political Agent in Rewakanta that, "the sepoys openly give out that they will plunder the country and proceed to Delhi. They have taken up a threatening position. A rumour is prevalent that the British Government have lost their Raj (supremacy). Consequently I have become powerless." (P. D. Volume 48/1857, p. 207).

Maharana Bhuwansingjee Raja of Soonth in another letter, dated 6th August 1857 to Captain Buckle pleading for the immediate despatch of the British troops, wrote : "I am as anxiously expecting your support as one expects rain in season. Although the payment to Jemadar Mustafakhan of the arrears of salary due to him, is withheld, on an order from the Sirkar, he disregarded that order. He also overlooked the agreement entered into by the late Setarkhan (father of Mustafakhan) which was to the effect that in the event of his men resigning the service, a moiety of the amount was to be defrayed after the lapse of six months and the remainder by an annual instalment of Rs. 1,000 and has turned his hand against the Durbar, with a view of obtaining the whole amount at once. Since he has thus become inimical to the Durbar, he has continued his demand up to yesterday and has given me much trouble. He has compelled me to abstain from food, water, smoking and opium. I endured the nuisance for some time, but deeming it un-advisable to suffer it any longer and becoming aware of his further designs which might involve the loss of many lives, and taking into consideration the unsettled state of the Bheel population which gave rise to a tumult and after all the disorganization of several British Cantonments and the consequent combination of all the Mahomedans, I came to the conclusion that there was no other alternative but to come to terms with the Jemadar". The letter further said that with that object in view, the Rajah made a stipulation with the Jemadar to his satisfaction. According to this stipulation the Jemadar's monthly allowance was increased to a fixed sum of Rs. 175 and he was further to be paid Rs. 4,000 out of the amount held under the Political Agent's order (pages 199-200-201).

The Rajah in his letter further said, "I told him that the money would be given to him the next morning but he paid no attention to it and took the law into his own hand. Consequently last mid-night I was obliged to mortgage my personal jewels to a Banker and thereby make him answerable to the Jemadar for the money". (page 201).

"When the Jemadar appeared disorderly, I dismissed the other Wullaitees for fear they would join him — and under the impression that if they went away he would become powerless. Contrary to my expectation however he employed them all and they surrounded my place—they went up it as far as the 'Junankhana' and committed great oppression". (page 202).

"The Jemadar has forcibly caused in increase of Rs. 67 to his monthly stipend but I have no intention to pay him". (page 203).

Lieutenant Alban, commanding the detachment of Gujerat Irregular Horse was sent to Soonth State with a force to capture Jemadar Mustafakhan. The armed followers of the Jemadar offered opposition to the arrest of the Jemadar and consequently Captain Alban was compelled to use force resulting in the death of the Jemadar and four of the Jemadar's followers. Remaining eight followers were captured. (P. D. Volume 48/1857, p. 187).

Lieutenant Albans report dated Camp Rampoor 18th August 1857 to Captain Buckle on the proceedings against the Jemadar Mustafakhan stated : "My plan was this. One of my native officers Naib Russaldar Shadeekhan was a countryman of Mustafa. I told him to converse with and endeavour to persuade him to come to my tent, as in this way I should be able to take all his men at once and most probably in a quiet manner, whereas if I went to his own house, I anticipated much opposition. I was informed that although extremely suspicious he had agreed to visit me at 2 P.M..... at 2 P.M. I received intelligence that Mustafakhan was approaching. I had previously made all my arrangements and had 60 armed men concealed in different places who at a given signal had orders to surround the tent and disarm and make prisoners of the whole. He came up with about 15 men all armed to the teeth. On entering the tent I informed him that he must take off his sword etc., as I did not permit armed men to enter my presence. This he did and after a slight conversation I informed him that I had received orders to arrest him. I then left him in the tent with a sowar and went outside to disarm the others. When this was attempted, they made great resistance and endeavoured to raise their matchlocks. Two had got loose. I therefore gave the word to fire and they were immediately killed. The other two were severely wounded and are now in hospital. Just as this occurred I heard a cry behind me that Mustafakhan has escaped. I at once ran in the direction and saw him making towards the river armed with his sword and knife. Naib Russaldar was just before me and managed to catch hold of his hair. They were wrestling together when I got up, Mustafakhan with his knife in his hand which the Naib Russaldar at last succeeded in gaining possession of. I fired my Pistol at him, but as it did not seem to take effect, I knocked him down with the butt end. Some Sowars then came up and he was soon secured, but he died in a few minutes from the effects of a wound which he had received, as he was running away". (P. D. Volume 48/1857, p. 187 to 189 paras. 4 to 6).

4. CHANDUP RESISTS FOR FOUR MONTHS, 1857

Major Whitelock, the Political Agent in Maheekanta, reported the

Government of Bombay in a letter dated Sadra 24th September 1857, that " serious disturbance occurred on the 16th instant at the Koly village of Chandup, which is situated immediately under a rocky and rugged hill about 150 or 200 feet high, and distant about 13 miles N. West from Edur. This village and two smaller ones belong to several gamettees.....The Gaekwar Government receives annually from Chandup Rs. 70-12-3 on account of ' ghasdana ' and the Raja of Edur Rs. 216-13-8 under the denomination of Kitcheree. Population of these three villages amounts probably to one thousand persons.

" Intelligence first reached me on the 18th instant, that of the ten Horsemen on Thana at Chandup one had been killed and two others wounded..... "

" The Raja of Edur had most laudably despatched seventeen of his own horse and fifty-six sebundees before my express reached him and the whole of the detachments were assembled close to Chandup early in the morning of the 20th but as the villagers had decided upon open resistance and had thrown up stockades to prevent approach of Horsemen.....a more reinforcement was sent from Sadra ". (P. D. Volume 49/Compilation 214 of 1857, p. 223 to 225).

The Political Agent further reported that, " the villagers of Dubbora in H. H. the Gaekwar's Purgunna of Kheyralvo had joined cause with the Chandup people and had supplied them largely with arms and ammunition ". The Political Agent was inclined to believe " that the villagers of Dubbora are the principal instigators and directors in the outbreak as they have long been threatening to commit depredations on Maheekanta villages ". (P. D. Volume 49 of 1857, p. 227).

A Proclamation was issued on the 28th September 1857 by the Government of H. H. the Gaekwar to the People of Kurree making it known to them that " in the village of Chandup under the Maheekanta, the villagers assembled together on the 16th instant and attacked the Thana of that place in which a sowar of the Gaekwar Government was killed, two wounded and property plundered. As the people of Chandup have acted very improperly it is hereby ordered that no person shall join them, nor afford them any assistance in the way of supplying them with guns and other weapons, shot and powder or by conveying food for them. If any person be found guilty in the Chandup case, he must be seized and sent to the Political Agent, Maheekanta, so that he may be tried according to law. Should any other villagers have joined these rebels, they must at once return to their respective houses. If they do not do so, a force will be sent by the Sirkar to attack and seize them and severe

punishment will be inflicated on them and their land jageers and other 'Wuttuns' will all be confiscated by the Sirkar" (p. 215 of Volume 49 of 1857.)

The plain facts of this episode as reported by Major Cormack were, "that a Thana of elevan Horsemen of the Gaekwar's contingent has for some time past been stationed at Chandup. This I believe to have been very distasteful to the villagers, who felt the check imposed by its presence as inconvenient. No quarrel, however as far as I am able to discover took place until 16th September 1857 (page 118 para 5.)

"On that day at about 4 p.m. Jayshanker Mehta who had proceeded to Chandup on Government business sent Duljee, a Puttawala, to call Nathajee, one of the Mukhees of the village. Nathajee insolently refused to obey, saying in the words of the Puttawala : '*The English reign is over, why do you come here to me ? You and the Thana get away from here. I will not come.*' The Mehta Jayshankar on hearing this directed the Puttawala to return and repeat the order at the same time sending one Hoosein, a horseman of the Thana with him to bear witness to what might occur. This appears to have enraged Nathajee, who again most insolently refused to go and after abusing the two messengers, raised a great outcry that Hoosein had come to take him and called on the villagers to turn out and kill Hoosein. .....
.....A great crowd of men and women immediately assembled, armed with clubs and swords—Nathajee being the chief leader and his two sons and another Koli (with drawn swords) being particularly conspicuous. Duljee Puttawala and Hossein then fled towards the Thana, closely pursued by the mab who arrived there about the same time. The Mehta desired the Horsemen of the Thana not to fight and that he would try and pacify the mob. Matoto, the son of Nathajee, however attacked him with his sword and he would certainly have been slain then and there but for Rowjee, one of the horsemen, who was slightly wounded in warding of the blows.....Bhat Jeykrun, one of the securities of the village and one Brahmin named Dullal then pacified the rioters and induced them to disperse quietly. .....
At about 7 p.m. a second onslaught by mostly the whole of the villagers was made. ..... Hossein, the horseman was singled out by name and was killed and another horseman was cut down". Wrote Major Cormack, "since then the village of Chandup may be said in open rebellion against the state. The outrage was *in my opinion deliberately planned and organised and intended as a commencement of a general disturbance,* as the significant words

addressed by Nathajee to the Putawalla tend to demonstrate. ....Preparations were immediately made for resistance, the women and children sent away to the hills and the different roads leading to the village stockaded or otherwise obstructed. ..... The village has peremptorily refused to surrender a single man unless a full and free pardon he granted to all concerned—a proposition of course, at once rejected. All the inhabitants other than Kollies have left the village, anticipating the consequence of rebellion". (P. D. Volume 51, p. 118 to 122.)

The rebel Kolies numbered about 800 to 900. Of these 150 were supposed to be matchlock men. All the rest had swords, bows and arrows. Major Whitelock thought that they had made a vow and solemnized it by drinking kusoomba water, that they would not desert their chiefs. (Summary of page 125-126 P. D. Volume 51 of 1857.)

Against these rebels, the force employed on the 17th October 1857 (exclusive of the Gaekwar's troops under the Kumavisdar of Kheraloo) was 40 Golundanze, 250 7th regiment N. I., 110 Gujarat Irregular Horse, 240 Gaekwar's Horse, 17 Edur Raja's horse, 125 Edur Raja's Seebundees : in all 782 (with 2 Mortars and 3 guns) (page 134, P. D. Volume 51 of 1857).

Major whitelock, the Political Agent in Maheekanta in a communication dated Sadra 24th October 1857 reported to the Government of Bombay :—

"The village of Chandup was found to be deserted, though only recently so, and with the exception of one house where there was a large quantity of grain stored, which as it could not be removed, I ordered to be destroyed. Everything had been taken away but owing to the Gaekwar troops having entered the village, after we had left it, a large portion of the houses were burnt, contrary to my orders in revenge no doubt for the injury and indignity committed upon their comrades. This destruction of property is only what I should probably have found it expedient hereafter to make for the sake of example, and therefore is not to be much regretted beyond the act of disobedience committed".

(P. D. Volume 51 of 1857, pages 137-138.)

The resistance by the Chandup insurgents continued without any appreciable result for nearly four months when on 20th January 1858 Major Whitelock reported to the Political Secretary

to the Government of Bombay to the effect that he anticipated "that the bulk of the inhabitants of Chandup district will shortly surrender themselves with a view of being allowed to return to their villages". (P. D. Volume 58 of 1858, p. 247.)

It seemed the villagers were afraid of taking the step of surrender unless they were given the protection by the Political Agent, "as they would be undoubtedly murdered by Nathajee and his follower". Major whitelock was "willing to separate those who had not participated in the crimes committed on the 16th September 1857 from the others but that I could not offer a pardon to anyone". He advised those who had only committed the offence of Bharwattia to surrender themselves. (P. D. Volume 58, pages 247-48, paragraph 2.)

Major whitelock informed the Government of Bombay that "Nathajee and his party, I suppose, soon became aware of this fact, as they separated themselves from the others and moved almost daily from one place to another to guard against a surprise and have latterly I have reason to believe, sent away all their families to the Gaekwar's districts. Nathajee's followers at first amounted in number to more than one-half of the whole village of Chandup... .....they have, however, within the last three weeks, quarrelled and although those who have separated from his adherence, keep at present aloof from the followers of the other three Mookhees, yet I look upon their quarrel and subsequent separation as a preparatory step for surrendering themselves." (P. D. Vol. 58 of 1858, p. 248-49).

Nathajee, the leader of the insurgent villagers sent a threatening letter dated 25th December 1857 to the Political Agent which said, "The whole of the Kolies of Chandup submit their respects and inform you that three nights ago, they came to Phoolpura and sent a threatening message (Jhansa) but you have taken no notice of this and have not entered into terms. However, instantly after you beccome acquainted with the contents of this paper, make terms, disbelieve not, for you are met every morning and evening, and it is necessary that those affairs are settled within 15 days. This is no idle threat but written for your information—afterwards we may be tied and blown away from guns, but if you do not arrange with us, your life will certainly be taken". (P. D. Vol. 58 of 1858, p. 255.)

Fourteen persons were apprehended between 6th February to 27th March 1858 charged with having taken a part in the murder

and insurrection at Chandup but as there was no sufficient evidence against them the Political Agent in the Maheekanta sought permission of the Government to release them, but the Government thought that they should be detained and further evidence against them be collected. (P. D. Vol. 61 of 1858, pages 161 to 185.)

5. DISARMING IN GUJARAT, 1858

Government decided to disarm the people in India. The story of disarming the people from Gujerat with special reference to the disturbances as found in P. D. Vol. 54 of 1858, pages 165 to 172 is given below :—

KAIRA

The disarming of this District was carried out with peculiar stringency owing to the following cause :—

A very extensive conspiracy was organised among several of the Koli villages, the object being to attack the Cantonment at Baroda. The Garrison was at the time very weak, and to plunder the Residency Treasury, the date fixed on, was the 16th of October 1857, but most fortunately news was received of the fall of Delhi.

The Maharaja of Baroda, gave a grand entertainment to the Resident and officers on the 10th of that month, and after the departure of the guests, one of the parties concerned, made a confession to the Ministers, which led to the discovery of the whole. Two Commissioners Captain Buckle and Mr. L. Ashburner were appointed by Government for the trial of persons concerned in this conspiracy.

Their proceedings tended to show that the Chief blame rested with two notorious villages, on the Mhye "Pertabpoor and Amgar".

Both these villages were situated in the intricate ravines on the banks of the Mhye River.

Of Pertabpoor the Commissioners say in their report that "it has always been notorious for the turbulent character of its inhabitants, who are chiefly kolies of the Barriah Tribe—a brave and independent race who have never been perfectly subjugated."

"Amgar" is mentioned by them as situated in one of the strongest positions on the River Mhye.

The inhabitants are noted for their predatory habits and the court expression, " Amgar Kunwaree Thief " is proverbial in Gujerat.

Of the conspiracy generally the Commissioner Brig. Gen. Shakespeare remark that " The continuous occupation of Delhi by the Mutinuous troops of the Bengal Army very seriously affected the prestige of the British Government in Gujerat and from a very early period in the monsoon, the feeling became general, that a revolution was about to take place, and that the Government would be subverted.....The presence of the European troops and the necessities which led to the withdrawal from Baroda, of the greater part of the 8th Regiment N. I. together with the assumed probability of the remainder of the Troops in Cantonment proving unfaithful, seems to have encouraged certain persons in the city of Baroda to raise an insurrection, their plan seems to have been to have raised a large force of Kolies, and after having corrupted the Native troops to have made a simultaneous attack on Baroda, and Ahmedabad. The force destined to attack Baroda, was to have been raised from the Kolies who inhabit the strong country on the banks of the river Mhye, Waluck and Sevi, while the operations against Ahmedabad, were to have been conducted by a force raised in His Highness' District of Beejapur by one Moogan Bookun and others.

" It appeared to me that so serious a conspiracy in which so many British villages had shared and the object of which was no less than to subvert the British authorities in Gujerat, required more serious notice than the mere trial of such of the Ring Leaders, as could be proved to be guilty.

" I considered it essential for the safety of the Province that the sites, hitherto occupied by Amgar and Pertabpoor, should be demolished and the inhabitants compelled to locate on fresh sites within their village limits, but situated within the open plains. Also that the disarming of all the Koli villages, in the Southern portion of the Kaira district (all of which if not implicated in this audacious conspiracy, must have been cognisant of it) ought to be carried out with the utmost severity the act permitted.

" Under the above circumstances, the proclamation copy of which forms enclosure N. I. was issued and the copy of my letter No. 115 of 23rd February 1858 to the Magistrate, forms enclosure No. 8, will explain how very inadequate were the Military means at my disposal and how very short a time for the weak detachment of Europeans was available.

"Two hundred Europeans of Her Majesty's 72nd Regiment and fifty Sepoys comprised the whole of the Infantry, at my disposal, when entering upon the serious undertaking of disarming the whole district of Kaira. Small as the force was, it was only available for a few days, while en route to Rajpootana.

"The inhabitants of the three of the Kaira Purgannahs were more particularly noted as being turbulent. They are generally called and they call themselves "Meywassie", the meaning of which is simply turbulent in contra destinction of the peaceful villages which are known and invariably mentioned as "Rastee" which means peaceful.

"For the operation of disarming those three districts I was so fortunate as to have the services of Mr. L. Ashburner and it is to his firmness that I chiefly attribute the complete success of the operation.

"The two villages "Amgar and Pertabpoor" were dismantled and the inhabitants located on the new sites, carrying away their own materials without a murmer.

"The districts of Kaira (and more particularly the three turbulent pergannahs) were thoroughly and effectually disarmed, without it being necessary to fire a single shot. But the measure was carried out with severity being intentionally a punitive measure as far as this district was concerned.

"It was absolutely unavoidable, that the whole operation should be completed in the short space of 9 or 10 days. Such being the case, I am not surprised to find, that very considerable dissatisfaction has resulted, but I am convinced that had these measures, not been carried out, the Kolis along the Mhye would have very generally risen, when the Rebel army under Tatya Tope advanced on the 5th of last month on Godra, only a few miles from the frontier of the Kaira district.

"Indeed such was the annoyance amongst that tribe, and so low had our reputation fallen from our disasters in Bengal that it is very doubtful to me if a rising would not have taken place, even without the inroad of Tatya Tope's troops. It is my conviction that the disarming of the Kaira district saved the Province of Gujerat from an insurrection.

"So complete was the tone of the Kolies changed that although Tatya's army advanced towards the Frontier, not a single village rose

nor was there a single disturbance.

Enclosure No. 3 of date 29th October 1858 is Mr. Gray's letter forwarding a detailed list of arms surrendered and those left with the people.

Enclosure No. 4 of date 13th November 1858 is Mr. Gray's answer, to the questions put by me, regarding the completeness of the operation and its effect upon the minds of the people."

6. TOTAL DESTRUCTION OF FOUR VILLAGES FOR REFUSAL TO GIVE UP ARMS, JULY 1858

I. Destruction of village Lalla in Godhra Division

One Soorajmal claimed the Gadi of Loonawara and attacked the town on 15th July 1857. Captain Buckle had warned him earlier "not to enter my limits but to remain at his usual residence at Dakore". But he sent evasive replies and found an asylum in the house of one Kanadass, a Charan Inamdar of Palla, who was a better enemy of the Raja of Loonawara.

Captain Buckle directed Major Andrews to destroy the Ename Village (P. D. Volume 46 of 1857), Lieut. F. L. Alban accordingly marched with a small detachment of G. I. Horse and arrived at the outskirts of the village. He then surrounded the village with a party of horse and started searching all the houses of the village for weapons. He ordered that the women and children should leave their houses within two hours. The Patel of the village got it vacated and Lieut. Alban issued orders to set the village on fire. During a short time the whole village was destroyed. The Lieut. arrested a Charan named Bapu Partal with the hope of getting from him information about the movements of Soorajmal. (P. D. Volume 48 of 1857.)

II. Destruction of Khanpur Village

A Government horseman was sent to Khanpur to summon the head of the village. He was insulted and threatened with death. Eventually the Acting Political Agent determined to take the earliest opportunity of making a severe example of the place. (P. D. Volume 52 of 1857, page 171).

Captain C. Buckle wrote : "It is necessary to state that the Kolies of Khanpur and of the neighbouring hilly and jungle tracts have

never been subjugated by the Rajah of Loonawara, to whom their allegiance is nominal and it was alike useless to demand reparation from the present Rajah or his co-operation in the contemplated attack. (Para. 2, page 171.)

"March commenced at midnight. Surprise was complete. At daybreak the principal houses were completely surrounded by the horse. The head of the village and others were secured. The village was then burnt. After seeing that the destruction was sufficiently complete, I directed the return. (Para. 4, page 172.)

"In incredibly short space of time, the neighbouring country was roused and the Kolies threatened both flanks and rear in the hills and jungle. After a little firing in which one man was shot by Lieut. Moray and two or three wounded, they retreated into the jungle" (page 173). Again when the column descended the bank and entered the bed of the river (Mahee), a sudden attack was made by the Kolies on the left rear of the G. I. Horse. A fight took place in which the attackers were hunted from bush to bush, resulting in loss to both the sides. After a halt on the north bank during which the Kolies appeared disinclined to run further risk, the march was continued. The head of the village was put on trial on charges of rebellion against the Government. He was condemned and forthwith shot. Another prisoner who abetted the insult to Government was sentenced to transportation for life. (P. D. Volume 52 of 1857, pages 173-74-75.)

The Political agent in Rewa Kanta wrote, "It was on account of the refusal of the headmen of Khanpoor to make good their security bonds and produce or keep in order the Kolies of the two villages (Malwan and Larpoor) that Captain Buckle attacked and burnt Khanpur in December and put several of the inhabitants to death. This prompt measure checked the rising spirit of insubordination but had little or no effect in inducing the outlaws to surrender—they were intimidated, but the wide extent of hilly and jungly country on the borders of Meywar afforded them an asylum where force and pursuit were nearly futile." (P. D. Volume 59 of 1858, page 280, para. 15.)

III. Canaria burnt down

Canaria refused to surrender its arms. It was according to Government, 'the most notorious nest of robbers.....which has long been a course to the whole country'. (Page 47, Volume No. 61 of 1858) Brigadier General Shakespeare ordered major Whitelock as follows :

"I shall be glad to hear of Canaria being Coerced. Pray send an

overwhelming force and insist on destroying every vestige of the present site, making the men locate in the plain, but call them out and do not let infantry get entangled in the ravines.....Tell them that not only must they give up all their arms, but that the present site of their village is to be destroyed and a plough share drawn by donkeys taken over it....." (Pages 51, 52 Volume 61 of 1858)

"We did a worse place "Ungar" on the Mhye in that way..... A Kaira village 'Purtabpore' was so treated and very much to the satisfaction of the country generally".....(Page 53, Volume 61 of 1858).

Accordingly on the morning on 4th May a force consisting of 17 guns, 1000 European infantry, 150 Koli Police corps, 200 Gujerat Irregular Horse, was despatched to Konaria. A number of Kolis assembled on the left flank. Acting Political Agent Law rode up to them and asked them who they were. They told him to be off and added that they had 4000 men and they would not willingly surrender their arms. Major Grimes then directed to fire on them, on which they bolted with wonderful alacrity. The village was then completely burnt to ashes. (P. D. Volume 61 of 1858, pages 129 to 131).

IV. Dubbora, a Gaikwadi village, burnt down

The villagers of Dubbora refused, to surrender their arms on the plea "that they had a blood feud with one of the Moundetti Thakor's village and that, if they gave up their arms, their lives and properties would be at the disposal of Soorajmull (The Thakore of Moundetti) (pages 285-286). But this plea went unheaded. They were ordered to surrender their arms unconditionally. They refused. This was followed by a surprise attack but the inhabitants having got scent of it, had vacated the village for four days before the arrival of the Government forces. All the 800 houses in the village, were then burnt down by the Government forces. No trace of the township was left.

7. DUBBORA REFUSES TO SURRENDER ARMS

Whole Village Burnt Down

Summary of Letter No. 299 of 1858 from Major Whitelock, Political Agent, Mahikantha, to Brigadier General, Sir R. Shakespeare, Political Commissioner in Gujerat, dated 31st May 1858 (page 315, P. D. Volume 51 of 1859) :—

"Finding that the injunctions to the inhabitants of Dubbora to

have their arms registered had been disregarded on the pretence that there was a blood feud existing between themselves, and one of these Mondetti Thakore's villages, and that if they gave up their arms before its settlement, their lives and property would be at the disposal of Surajmal (Thakore of Mondetti) and that therefore, that affair must be adjusted before they could possibly give their consent to surrendering their arms."

2. Major Whitelock informed the people of Dubbora "that I would listen to no stipulations being made by them in tendering their submission which must be immediate and without reserve of any kind."

3. "To this a most insolent and threatening message was returned through the Thandar of Dubbora, to the effect that nothing less than the settlement of their quarrel with the Thakore of Mondetti would suffice, and that if the Government chose to burn down their village they should take to plundering the country around."

4 & 5. Major Whitelock then tried to take the village by surprise, but the villagers "took a strong and difficult position in the Taranga range of Hills and fired upon the party of the Gujerat Irregular Horse, which had been sent to reconnoitre in the direction of their supposed locality".

6. Major Whitelock then attacked the Kolies in the hills. Not less than 25 kolies were killed, 40 were wounded and 4 were taken prisoners.

10. Having defeated the Kolies, Major Whitelock instructed Major Grimes "to burn the Koli Portion of Dubbora if that could be done without destroying the remainder of it, but otherwise the whole village is to be saved".

A letter from Major Whitelock, Political Agent in the Mahee Kantha to Brigader General, Sir R. Sharkspear, Political Commissioner in Gujarat.

No. 309 of 1858.

Dated Camp at Edur,
2nd June 1858.

Sir,

With reference to para 10 of my report No. 299 dated the 31st ultimo, I have the honour to submit copies of my instructions to Major Grimes, Commanding Field Force, therein alluded to and of his Letter No. 53 of yesterday's date relative to the destruction of the village of Dubbora.

If it was your wish, after reading the report from Major Grimes, and myself regarding the conduct of the Koly inhabitants of Dubbora, that their village should have been saved, I shall regret there that it has been destroyed, but I believe that that circumstance will afford great satisfaction to every well disposed village in both the Gaekwar and Mahee Kantha Districts and I do not anticipate that the Baroda Durbar will sympathise with any of those who have been thus punished, for the local authorities, Major Grimes informs me, were all agreed that the village contained none but the worst characters.

I think, however, that the Baroda Durbar should take full advantage of the destruction of Dubbora by insisting upon a fresh site being chosen for the creation of a new village, at least a mile further from the Taringha Hills, and the jungle which intervened between them and the very entrance to the houses.

Major Grimes' Force, I beg to inform you, is at Pondnee "today, and will move tomorrow to some village situated about half way between its present Encampment and the Town of Edur".

(Page 327, P. D. Volume 54 of 1858.)

Extract from a letter from Major Whitelock, Political Agent in the Mahee Kantha to the address of Major Grimes, Commanding Field Force, dated the 30th May 1858, No. 197 :—

"1. I have the honour to request that you will have if possible the Koly portion of the village of Dubbora, destroyed tomorrow morning without injuring to any serious extent, the rest of the village.

2. If after examination, it shall be considered wholly impracticable to burn the Koly portion of that village without causing the destruction of the rest, I beg in that case that it may be saved, for, although the Kolis of Dubbora to whom the lands comprised in it, belong, are notoriously turbulent bad characters, yet after your brilliant success today against them in immensely strong and difficult country, we can afford to be lenient towards them".

Camp, Dubbora,
Dated 1st June 1858.

From

MAJOR GRIMES,
Commanding Field Force,

To

MAJOR WHITELOCK,
Political Agent, Mahee Kantha,
Edur.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that in compliance with the request contained in your Letter No. 297 of the 30th ultimo, I requested Lieutenant, LeGeyt in communication with the Durbar authorities, to point out the Houses in the Town of Dubbora belonging to the Kolis and those belonging to other individuals and by the report made to me it appeared that out of the 800 houses, there were only 25 not belonging to Kolis. These I ordered to be protected as much as possible and the remainder destroyed by fire which was done yesterday evening, but, I am sorry these 25 houses came in for these share, in fact so rapidly did the flames take that when once ignited no power could have saved a stick and a sudden change of wind almost immediately after it had been fired assisted the conflagration. The Dher portion of the village, as I previously told you, had been burnt the

day of arrival, I believe by the inhabitants themselves. I have not much regret for the fate of these individuals for I am told that they were (?) caste Kolis. Yet they were Budmashes of all descriptions who had been obliged to fly from other places on account of their misdeeds and that not a single individual of respectability resided or was allowed to reside in this place.

The town is totally destroyed and never ought to be allowed to raise its head again".

Court of Directors Displeased

HIS EXCELLENCY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE,
THE GOVERNOR IN COUNCIL, BOMBAY.

My Lord,

The Despatch of your Lordship's Government No. 3 of 1859, in the Political Department under date January 8th 1859, has been considered by me in Council. It relates to the disarming of the people of Gujerat.

2. That measure was the subject of a Despatch from the Court of Directors of the East India Company, dated September 1st, 1858. To that Despatch your present letter is a reply.

3. It was not the intention of the Court of Directors, as your Lordship's Government appear to believe, to censure your Agents for recommending the disarmament of the people of Gujerat, or your Government for carrying out the measure, but to indicate certain circumstances suggestive of the necessity of prosecuting it with caution, and of hesitating before you extended it into contiguous parts of the country.

4. The Court of Directors observed with regret that no report had been made to them of any compensation having been afforded to the villagers of Oonaria, who were compelled, at the point of the bayonet to move their residences to another site. In this sentiment, Her Majesty's Government cannot but share. It is their desire that, whenever the public safety requires that you should interfere with the rights of property, as in the instances noted above, you should afford compensation to the individuals who are sufferers by the measure you have determined upon. But under

the explanation afforded by the Resident at Baroda, it is not intended that any further proceedings should be taken in the cases of Oonaria and Dubbora.

Her Majesty's Government are willing to believe that the measure of disarming the people, as far as it has been carried out in the Bombay Presidency, has been attended with success, and they learn with satisfaction that, in the opinion of your Government the arrangements of Sir Richmound Shakespear "displayed an energy and a tact which did more than anything else to secure success, and which were worthy of the warmest commendation." It was not the design of the court of Directors to censure the proceedings of this meritorious officer, except in one particular instance. The peremptory tone which he assumed towards the Rajah of Edur was animadverted upon with displeasure by the Court, and I need hardly impress upon your Lordship that it is the desire of Her Majesty's Government that when circumstances of an urgent political character compel you to move an independent native prince or chief to adopt measures obviously repugnant, if not humiliating to him, the demands made through your Agents should be couched in conciliatory language and should be accompanied, as far as possible, with friendly explanations calculated to reconcile them to the obnoxious measure.

India Office, London :

27th October 1859.

I have the honour to be

(Signed) CHARLES WOOD.

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8. CIRCULATION OF SECRET SIGN IN GUJERAT VILLAGES

Like Chupatti and Lotus, the mysterious circulation of Twigs from one village to another in Kaira and North Gujerat districts came to light in April of 1858 and that perturbed the British authorities. Enquiries were instituted in Kaira as well as Ahmedabad, Palunpoor, Rewakanta and Mahee-Kanta Districts.

It happended that Mr. Spiers, Acting Magistrate of Ahmedabad, while going from Cambay to Ahmedabad on 9th April 1858 came across this one more secret sign of circulating messages in the village folks.

In a letter, dated 10th April 1858 to the Magistrate of Kaira in whose jurisdiction this happened, Mr. Spiers reported "I felt Cambay yesterday evening enroute to Ahmedabad and being between the villages of Kul Thulondee and Hamia, the Bhomia (Guide) from the former village accompanying my Gharee was met by one from Hamia who brought with him two small twigs which he gave to the other Bhomia with a request that he would pass it on to the village next to his. Overhearing this talk I asked to see the twigs and questioned the bearer regarding them. He declared they had come somewhere from the Northward of Ahmedabad passing along from village to village in the manner I had witnessed. He said he did not know what they signified, that a month previously one twig had passed in like manner and that before that time he never heard of or saw such sign passing through his village. The analogy to the Chuppatty mystery struck me at once. I therefore impounded the twigs, the anxiety evinced by the parties as to their responsibility to some undefined power for the safer transfer of the twigs only confirming my resolution". (page 353, P. D. Vol. No. 60 of 1858).

The Acting Magistrate of Kaira forwarded the copy of the above note to the Political Commissioner in Gujerat (Brigadier General Sir R. Shakespear) who in turn reported the matter to the Government of Bombay.

The Political Commissioner wrote, "It is for the Government to decide whether it might not be made a penal offence for village guides or village servants to carry messages from village to village except by order of Government Officers" (page 342, P. D. Vol. 60 of 1858).

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9. TATYA TOPE'S INCURSION IN GUJARAT

[The following extracts from Baroda Residency Records give a few details about the movements of Tatya Tope in Gujarat in 1858-59. Reports contained in these letters show that Tatya's troops were at Deohatti, between Rajpur and Chota Udepur, presumably on 29th December, 1858 and at Chota Udepur on the 30th. Tatya's taking levy from the Raja of Udepur is also mentioned. These reports indicate that Tatya's men attempted to enter Baroda (territory) before 2nd January, 1859 and that they were at Bariah on the 2nd. They suggest that Tatya's men who had separated after the defeat at Chota Udepur on 31st December 1858 joined again at Bariah, left

the place on the 3rd and 4th January 1859, and went towards the jungle side on the north. The main body of the party remained at Babra. These are the details found in these three letters.

The dates and places given by Kaye and Malleson practically agree with this information. There are, however, some very insignificant variations ; Kaye has given 26th and 28th December, 1858, as the dates of Tatya's march towards and attack on Baroda. Malleson gives 27th December as this date, while from these letters it appears that the Minister of Baroda had no idea of Tatya's entry on their soil even on the 2nd January, 1859, as he has made no mention of it in his Report.—(Letter No. 1518). Brownes' Dohad report indicates that Tatya's men must have been in Baroda territory before the 2nd January, 1859 as they retired, it seems, towards Bariah on the same day. These reports do not give any information about the attack on Baroda itself. They are, in fact, incomplete but have been taken from whatever records were available.

According to the narrations given by Kaye and Malleson, Tatya had not only touched the outskirts of the Bombay Presidency but Mahikanta and near about parts were the objects of his operations. He crossed Narmada, it seems, about 27th December, 1858 and his own statement of 10th April, 1859, made at the time of his trial, records that from Rajpur he marched towards Chota Udepur and from that place he retreated towards Deogarh Bariah where, he tells, his separated army collected again. Failing to get entrance into Maharashtra, Tatya, it seems, had thought of getting hold on Baroda as he knew 'a large party at the Court sympathised deeply with Nanasaheb'. But there also he did not succeed.]

(Baroda Residency, Bound Volume No. 460, Kathiawar, miscellaneous, 1858, in the Baroda Records Office).

Serial No. 460.

No. 1518.

From—I. P. STRATTON,
Officiating Assistant Resident
For Sir R. C. Shekespear,
Pol. Commn. in Gujrat and Resident Baroda.

To—H. L. ANDERSON, Esqr.,
Secretary to Government,
Bombay.

Baroda, 2nd December 1858.

"Subsequent to the posting of yesterday's letter above referred to news was received from the Raja of Chhota Oodeypore that the Rebels had reached Dewhatti between Ali Rajpore and Chhota Udepur on the 29th and that they were coming to the latter place on the next day, and that he (the Raja who was out in his districts) was therefore going immediately into his capital.

At the same time news was received through Captain Collier to the detachment attached that the rebels had entered Udepur on the 30th and that Raja was in his palace and had shut the gate of his fort on them.

The ministers this morning stated that their news led them to believe that Tatiya Tope made a halt at Oodeypore and that he levied a contribution of Rs. 5,000 from Ali Rajpore in addition to any other plunder taken of which no accounts have been received.

The above is the latest news here received of the position and movements of the rebels.

12. It is intended instantly to send an express calling in the above Godra force towards Baroda should it appear certain that the Rebels are actually coming in this direction by either of the Sankhera or Waghoria roads.

14. The more local arrangements immediately around Baroda continue much as was reported in yesterday's letter No. 1508 with the expectation that the Kapoora outpost on the Sankhera road has been strengthened by 2 more guns withdrawn from Bapote on the Waghoria route to which however they can at once be moved if required the distance between the posts not being great."

REBELS REACH BARRIAH AND BABBRA

To

H. L. ANDERSON, ESQUIRE,
Secretary to Government,
Bombay.

Baroda, 4th December 1858.

Sir,

In continuation of my letter No. 1520 of yesterday's date I have the honour to state that in the evening I received positive information of a considerable body of the Rebels being at Barriah at 8 a.m. of 2nd.

2. During the night I heard from Lt. Browne who commands at Dohud, that another body of the Rebels had reached Babbra at the same hour and date.

9. As far as I am able to form a conjecture, I should say the total strength of the enemy before his defeat on the 1st was about 3500 fighting men and that about 500 would be the loss sustained by him consequent on Brigadier Parke's attack.

10. I estimate the body of the enemy at Barriah on the 2nd as 1000 and at Babbra on same date at 2000. I believe the Barriah party to have one elephant with them.

11. Lt. Browns native informant declares that the Babbra party had 12 elephants with them, I do not believe this for spies of this Durbar which entered the camp at Oodeypore before Brigadier Parke's attack make no mention of any elephants.

12. The Raja of Oodeypore had two elephants of his own probably one has been taken to Babbra and the other to Barriah

and unless they got some at Ali Rajpore I cannot conceive how they can have any other animals of that description, because the route of marching and the stony nature of the country would necessarily have disabled any animals they might have had with them.

17. The Sankhera advance and Brigadier Parke's spirited conduct have saved our faithful ally the Gaekwar, not a single Rebel has yet been known to have entered any one of His Highness' villages for it was only into the Oodeypore.....of Jambooghora that the small party of Rebels entered and they were ejected immediately by Captain Collien's Force.

26. The Bombay Government will of course be very anxious to know the amount of loss that will result from this inroad of Tatya Tope.

27. Unless some very unforeseen happens, I think that injury will be confined solely to the Rewa Kanntha districts.

28. As yet I believe the Oodeypore Raja has suffered but slightly, we have yet to learn of what has occurred at Barriah, but Hallole, Kallole, Godra and Dohud—all the large cities, in that quarter have escaped."

GODHRA DISTRICT OCCUPIED BY REBELS

No. 1556

H. L. ANDERSON,
Secretary to Government of Bombay.

Baroda, December 5/58.

Sir,

In continuation of my letter No. 1542 of yesterday's date, I have the honour to state that I have information from Captain Hunter of his arrival at Godra at 2 a.m. of the 14th.

2. At 6 p.m. of that day, he writes that two parties of the Rebels who had united near Barriah moved during the 3rd and 4th to a spot in the jungles on the Baroda road only six miles from Barriah and 12 from Godra.

5. That District (Godhra) is at present occupied by the Rebels.

11. While Tatya Tope was encamped at Oodeypore and before Brigadier Parke attacked him, I had endavoured through spies employed by the Durbar to have served vernacular copies of the Queen's proclamation disseminated against the rebels, but that attempt failed.

I have etc.

I. P. STRATTON.

10. ARREST OF ZAHOOR-OOL-HOOSEIN

Gujerat rebel Zahoor-ool-Hoosein was captured by the vigilance of one Rassaldar Meer Madho Buksh. Underneath is given the text from the letter of Col. H. M. DURAND Secretary to Government of India to Bombay Government (P. D. Vol. 31 of 1864, pages 19-20).

No. 22.

Fort William, the 25th February 1864.

From

COLONEL H. M. DURAND, C. B.
Secretary to Government of India,

To

The Officiating Secretary to Government, Bombay.

" Sir,

I am directed to reply to your Letter, No. 6, dated 15th January, drawing the attention of Government to the claims of Major Thatcher, Superintendent of Police at Ahmedabad and Ressaldar Meer Madho Baksh, of the Gujerat Irregular Horse, in connection with the capture of the rebel Zahoor-ool-Husein.

2. No reward for the apprehension of Zahoor-ool-Hoosein was ever sanctioned by Government, but Colonel Clerke, Commissioner of Khyrabad had proposed a reward of Rupees 5,000, which the Chief Commissioner of Oude thought was a fair sum and

should be sanctioned, and the Governor General in Council promised that the claims to reward of the parties who had been instrumental in securing the rebel would be taken into favourable consideration in the event of his conviction.

3. The circumstances attending the capture of Zahoor-ool-Hoosein were the following :—

Ressaldar Meer Madho Buksh of the Gujerat Irregular Horse, first obtained the clue to the whereabouts and identity of Zahoor-ool-Husein, who under the name of Sufraz Hoosein had obtained the appointment of Tehsildar of the Copal Talook in the Nizam of Hyderabad's territory, and gave information of the same to Captain Thatcher and to his Commanding Officer, who at once addressed the Officiating Resident at Hyderabad.

4. Under the orders of Major Thornhill, the Commanding Officer at Lingsoogoor dispatched Havildar Abdul Raheem, with a Detachment of Horse under Jemadar Kulian Sing to Copal, but Zahoor-ool-Hoosein, having received intimation of the approach of the party, had fled across the frontier : he was pursued, arrested in the Dharwar Collectorate, and brought to Lingsoogoor by the two Native Officers.

5. Captain Thatcher, when informed, on a reference by the Commandant of the Guzerat Irregular Horse, that the Hyderabad Authorities had taken up the pursuit of the man, had refrained from any independent action, though he gave assistance in the way of information, and now accompanied with Ressaldar Shumsher Ali, of the Gujerat Irregular Horse, who could identify Zahoor-ool-Hoosein, proceeded to the frontier and took charge of the prisoner.

6. His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in Council is of opinion that a sum of Rupees 5,000 will be an adequate reward and sanctions that amount, leaving it to the Bombay Government to divide the amount between Abdool Raheem, Kulain Sing, Madho Buksha Shumshere Ali, and any other Native Officers and men who may be thought deserving, in such proportions as may be considered suitable to the merits of each. Major Thatcher has been thanked."

11. BARODA DURING THE MUTINY, 1857

Excitement at Baroda

(Extracts from the Baroda Resident's letter to Bombay Government, dated 12th July 1857)

The Resident wrote to the Political Secretary to the Government of India (letter dated 12th July 1857) that "Syeeds, Peerzadas and others who were spreading disaffection in the city have been promptly arrested. Not only has carriage been readily supplied but gun bullocks when a deficiency occurred, have been at once, sent, and the troops such as they are, of this court have been made available."

(P. D. Volume 40/1857, P-143).

In spite of this material help and exhibition of loyal obedience, there were people and even the British officers who doubted the Gaekwar's loyalty. There were reports spread by the papers of a misunderstanding between the Gaekwar and the British Resident, which were contradicted by the Resident.

(P. D. Volume 42/1857, PP-160-162).

A responsible British officer, like Captain Hodgson, the Superintendent of Police at Surat himself doubted the loyalty of Gaekwar and he very bitterly expressed his feelings.

In a letter dated 10th July 1857 to Major Crawford, Brigadier Major at Baroda, Captain Hodgson wrote : "I feel persuaded that all the Mussalman Sardars of Baroda with their followers are cognisant of the rebellion, and will join it and will most probably also be backed by the Gaekwar himself, who will follow the example of the heads of the Maratha states, i.e., Gwalior and Indore.

"I believe that the head of the conspiracy is the confidential Hindustani Munshi of the Gaekwar and one Bercha, Baloochi Jemadar of Arabs also of course the Nawab Sarfaroz Ali etc. are all concerned."

(P. D. Volume 44/1857, P-71).

Even the rumours were spread as far as Ratnagiri. The Collector reported that "they say that Gaekwar was raising new levies ostensibly to assist but in reality to turn against us, if he finds an opportunity, that the Gaekwar has entered into agreements with the

Bheels and Kolies to our detriment." (P. D. Volume 25/1857, P-504).

Conspiracy at Baroda

Perhaps the Gaekwar's whole-hearted co-operation and his placing all the resources of the state at the disposal of the British thwarted whatever the plans or ambitions the forces of Rebellion had entertained at Baroda or in other parts of Gujerat. The offshoot of it was that a plot to dethrone H. H. the Gaekwar was hatched by some persons in Ahmedabad and Baroda—prominent among them being Govindrao *alias* Bapu Gaekwar, a half brother of H. H. the Gaekwar.

According to the British Resident "the plot embraced no less a design than the plunder of Ahmedabad city, after which an advance was to have been made on the Mahi, and the Kolies of the Kaira District having joined, the whole were to have advanced on Baroda for the purpose of dethrowing the Gaekwar." (P. D. Volume 51 of 1857, PP-474-479).

Consequently Govindrao Gaekwar, who was at Ahmedabad was brought to Baroda by a party of H. H. the Gaekwar's troops. Meanwhile reports reached Baroda in the middle of October 1857 that a rising of the Kolies in the Gaekwar purgunnas of Kheyraloo, Burnaggar and Beyjapoor which lie North of Ahmedabad was anticipated.

(P. D. Volume 50/1857, P-138).

Kaira district was also astir. The Thakoor of Khanpoor wrote to the Minister of H. H. the Gaekwar to say that he had information of a large body (about 2000 Kolies) assembling from the Kaira and Mahee-Kanta Districts and intending to advance on Baroda.

The Thakoor of Bhadurwa (in the Rewa Kanta) also wrote a note to the Resident at Baroda to say that two Deckonies by caste, Residents of Baroda.....had stopped at the village of Purtabpoor, on the Kaira side of the Mhyee, that they had summoned 500 or 600 men from the surrounding villages to whom they had made advances of money for the purchase of powder etc., with a view of creating a disturbance in the camp of Baroda. The Thakoor went to say that on the night of the 18th instant about 100 men armed had secretly passed through one of his villages towards Baroda.

On the strength of this information the Resident at Baroda called upon the Durbar to move up both cavalry and infantry to the camp. and to place their own people on the alert in the city.

But the Ministers of H. H. the Gaekwar believed that the whole affair would turn out to be a bubble. Their view of the matter was that a Mahomedan who was formerly in the Maharaja's service had been for the last two months very busy endeavouring to excite certain persons in the city and country to create a disturbance. When this man heard the news of the fall of Delhi, he came forward to give information, of his own plot and he mentioned a Thakoor in the Rewa Kanta as having been tampered with to collect Kolies. The ministers supposed that the Thakors of Khanpoor in Kaira and Bhadurwa in Rewa Kanta were also tampered with and that they having heard of the fall of Delhi and the discovery of the plot, came forward to save themselves with their notes. They (ministers) believed that the plot would have been very serious had Delhi not fallen. The Gaekwar authorities arrested 25 men of low character in the city who were mixed up with it. The Ministers believed that the Mahomedan was the chief mover and that his object was to extort money. Meanwhile the Kovaviadar of Barunuggar sent in a report to the Ministers which showed that there really was a risk of the Kolies rising up in the Mahee Kanta. Above information was contained in a dispatch which the Resident at Baroda sent to the Government of India on 20th October 1857.

(P. D. Volume 50 of 1857, P-138).

Major Whitelock, the political agent in the Mahee Kanta by a letter dated camp Edur, 19th October 1857, informed the Government of Bombay that "a large number of Bheels having assembled together at a place between the Gaekwar's villages of Peelwaee and Kotree in the Beejapoor District had made an attack yesterday upon the village of Lodra which is shared between His Highness the Gaekwar and the Thakore of Wursora. The attack was repelled at a loss to the attackers of 1 killed and 6 wounded and the assailants then proceeded to the village limits of Ajcole in the Kurree Pergunna from where they are plundering the surrounding country. The rebels mustered before Lodra 50 horse and 1000 foot."

(P. D. Volume 50 of 1857, P-363).

The acting Magistrate of Broach who intimated the Political Secretary to the Government of Bombay on 21st October 1857 that a company of grenadiers left Broach that morning for Baroda and further wrote, that it was stated in the last express that the Baroda force was in hourly expectation of an attack from a body of Bheels from Kaira. It was supposed that these Bheels had been sent for by some of the inhabitants of Baroda in order to carry out some plot which they

had formed against the British and Gaekwar Governments that something had happened to prevent the due development of the plot, but that there had been no time to countermand the advance of the Bheels."

(P. D. Volume 50/1857, P-373).

Activities of Mugganlal, Bania of Baroda.

A demi-official letter dated 22nd October 1857, from Major Agar, the Superintendent of Police, Ahmedabad to the Commissioner of Police reported that "the Kolies and others who had collected in the Beejapur district have dispersed and their leader and few followers captured by the Gaikwar authorities. The instigator of the affairs is a Bania named Mugganlal of Baroda. He suddenly made his appearance at Taringa in the hills with a bag of money and began purchasing horses and engaging men. He then came near to Burrnaggur having with him about 100 men and 30 horses. Thence he advanced towards Beejapur. His force is daily increasing and he is giving out that he was the courier of the army which was advancing from the North in Ahmedabad. He was said to have about 2000 men and 150 horses. Thence he advanced towards Mansa, encamping the jungles all along and sending to the villages for food for a stated number of men. At the village of Lodra, his requisition was resisted and a fight occurred in which two of the villagers were killed and 4 wounded," (P. D. Volume 50/1857, P-381).

Hearing that Mugganlal intended to advance on Ahmedabad after having first seized Endrosee, a strong village with an old fort on the bank of Sabarmati and that Sadra was also expected to be attacked, reinforcements were sent to these two latter places. Major Agar himself marched towards Sadra with 100 Koli police force and 100 Hussein Khan's levy to meet the challenge, but it seemed the followers of Mugganlal deserted him and dispersed near Mansa and Mugganlal himself flying North was captured by the Gaikwar Thannah at Samme with 11 others, five horses, some lead and powder. They were taken to Kurree (Kadi). They were tried by General Roberts and Mr. Hadow, the Collector of Ahmedabad under Act XIV of 1857. Three of them were blown from guns, three were hanged and the rest were transported for life.

(P. D. Volume 50/1857. PP. 383-384).

Nanasaheb inciting the Bheels

Referring to the rising of the Bheels of Beejapur Purguna, Major Whitelock the Political Agent in the Maheekanta in a letter dated Sadra 21st October 1857 to the Political Secretary to the Government of Bombay wrote : "There seems to be some powerful influence at work in inciting the Bheels to rise for they probably never before enjoyed the same amount of prosperity as they do now, nor did they ever live in more apparent contenment than they have last few weeks. The Raja of Edur seriously told me the day before yesterday that he had heard that Nanasaheb, the adopted son of Bajeerao, was instigator of the present excitement among the Bheels and who had informed them that when they were pledged to his cause in sufficient number he would take to Ahmedabad and reward them by giving them the plunder of that city. However absurd this story may appear yet the whole country around this is impressed with the idea that Ahmedabad is to be their ultimate destination."

Major Whitelock further wrote : "The increasing excitement among the Bheel population, is however a matter for serious consideration and the rapidity with which a large body of men can be assembled and dispersed and no information obtainable as to whence they come or their object in collecting, plainly show that if some of the local authorities do not actually sympathise with them, their chiefs must either be in connivance or they are afraid of taking part against their Bheel subjects. All the Gaekwar's districts in the vicinity of this Province are represented by the Mahekanta Chiefs to be in a state of great disaffection and fears are entertained that it will spread into these."

(P. D. Volume 51 of 1857, p. 203).

Baroda Conspiracy

Confession of Nihalchand Jhaweri

Meanwhile Jhaweri Nihalchand Fattechand, a seth of Baroda city who along with some persons undertook to raise Kolees on the Mahee in the Kaira District was arrested by the Baroda Durbar and according to the resident at Baroda, confessed to having acted as the agent for the conspirators in the city of Baroda.

Reporting the matter to the Bombay Government the British Resident at Baroda, Sir R. Shakespear in a letter, dated 19th November 1857 wrote : "His (Nihalchand's) version was that Govindrao Gaek-

war's brotner-in-law who is also latter's agent came over to Baroda and lived in the Cantonment Bazzar here and from whence he negotiated with a man Muggun and with him (Jhaweri Nihalchand).

"The owner of the house in the camp Bazzar with whom Govindrao Gaekwar's Brother-in-law resided, the brother-in-law and Muggan, these three persons proceeded to the Gaekwar's districts North of Ahmedabad to raise the Kolies in that quarter, while Jhaweri Nihalchand and some other persons who have absconded, undertook to raise the Kolees on the Mahee in the Kaira district.

"I believe it to be an ascertained fact that they made advances to several villages in the Kaira District and at one time six hundred men were assembled in the Kaira village of Purtabpur. Precisely at that time came the news of the fall of Delhi and a Mahomedan of Baroda who is doubtless in the plot (though it has not yet been brought home to him) being convinced from the great demonstration made by the Maharaja that Delhi had really fallen, gave information to the Ministers which led to their arresting twenty-five persons. These arrests alarmed the Baroda people who were employed in the Kaira District and the Thakor of Khanpoor in Kaira and the Thakor of Bhadurwa in the Rewa Kanta hearing of the discovery of the plot, sent information to the Durbar and to me. Thus it would appear that the Kaira part of the conspiracy was frustated by the arrival of the news of the fall of Delhi.

"The failure of the Kolee rising in the Northern districts I attribute to the arrival of Captain Hatche's Battery and H. M.'s 89th Regiment at Ahmedabad. It will be remembered that they were sent from Ghoga and owing to the quality of water on the road they were obliged to take a very circutious route to the Westward so that Muggan and Govind Rao Gaekwar's brother-in--law while carrying on their operations in the Northern districts, did not hear of the very large reinforcement which had arrived at Ahmedabad.....

"Muggan, Govindrao Gaekwar's brother-in-law and the owner of the house in the cantonment Bazzar here were seized and are now in confinement at Ahmedabad. Jhaweri Nihalchand has also been sent there and doubtless General Roberts will ultimately get to the bottom of the whole conspiracy.

"I believe there is no doubt whatever that several persons in the city of Ahmedabad were concerned in the plot which embraced no less a design than the plunder of Ahmedabad city, after which an advance was to have been made on the Mahi, and the Kolies of the Kaira

District having joined the whole were to have advanced on Baroda for the purpose of dethroning the Gaekwar.

" Govindrao Gaekwar has up to this time denied either knowledge or participation in the plot, but Jhaweri Nihalchand has confessed and has undertaken, when confronted with Muggan and Govindrao Gaekwar's brother-in-law to compel them to acknowledge their participation in the matter and I have great hopes that through him (Jhaweri) we may get at the guilt or otherwise of Govindrao Gaekwar.

" The alarming part of the matter, so far as I have yet understood it, is that the Kaira Kolis should have received advances and even assembled on one occasion without the land holders of that district and the native officials of our Government obtaining and reporting information of their proceeding." (P. D. Volume 51/1857, pp. 474-479.)

12. TATYA TOPE'S FAMILY

[The following deposition made by Ramkrishna Pandurang Tope, step-brother of Tatya is given here as it contains information about the Tope family. From this it appears that Tatya had seven brothers and four sisters. Tatya was living separately with his wife and son.]

(P. D. Volume 3 of the year 1862 p-111 to 130.)

The following correspondence throws light on Ramkrishna bin Pandurang who avows to be the step-brother of Tatya Tope. The correspondence is between Bombay Government, Assistant Resident in charge Baroda and the Indore Residency :—

No. 750/1862.
Baroda Residency,
14th November 1862.

From

THE ASSISTANT RESIDENT IN CHARGE, BARODA

To

THE SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT,
Political Department, Bombay.

Sir,

I have the honour to report for the information of His Excellency

the Governor in Council that a person of the name of Ramkhrishna bin Pandurang and avowing himself to be a step-brother of Tatia Tope having presented himself at Baroda, stating that he was in search of employment, he was brought up to the Residency by His Highness' Minister when he gave the deposition of which the accompanying is a Translation and presented the uncertified copy of a certificate which he asserted had been given to his family by the Political Agent at Gwalior.

2. Should nothing be known to Government respecting and against this person, and it appearing from the certificate (Translation of which is enclosed) that he and the other members of his family have been directed to reside at Bithoor, it would probably be better that he should be returned to Gwalior and I shall feel obliged by your obtaining the orders of His Excellency the Governor in Council on the subject.

Deposition of Ramkrishna Tope

Translation of the deposition of Ramkrishna bin Pandurang Topey, caste Brahmin Roogvedee, aged 24, profession Beggar and Karkoon, inhabitant of Brahmavert/Bithoor, now resident at Baroda, living near Modikhana in the house of Dajeeba Dhomsay, made before Lulloo Asharam Foujdar on Kartick sood 11 St. 1919 A.D.

Q.—When and why did you come to Baroda and on the strength of whose acquaintanceship have you remained here, how have you been employed and who are your relations ?

A.—I am the step-brother of Tatia Tope. I came from Indore about 3 months ago in the hope of gaining a livelihood at Baroda. I have no acquaintance or relation here. I have hired a room in the house of Dhomsay. On arrival I possessed Rs. 25 on which I have existed up to this day. Not having any acquaintances here I did not try for a situation, but simply visited the Foujdaree Cutchery two or three times, for the same reason I spoke to no one nor did any person address me. All my money having been expended, I made up my mind to visit His Highness the Gaekwar, and tell him who I was and obtain employment from him. Accordingly I went yesterday at noon to His Highness the Gaekwar, and told him that I was step-brother to Tatia Tope that I had been kept in custody by the Scindia Sirkar, but that Meade Sahib after being satisfied that I was no rebel gave me a " Purwannah " copy of which I produce before His Highness, when His Highness ordered the Jasood to take me to the Dewanjee and prevent me from coming to

the Warra (Palace). On this I was taken by the Jasood to the Foujdaree Cutchery and he after making His Highness' instructions known there, delivered me up.

Q.—It was known every where that Tatia Tope was concerned in the mutiny, and you were apprehended because you were his brother—how long were you kept in confinement, and in what way, and when were you released, where is the original of the document ? After you were released where and how were you employed and in what state, and where is your family now ?

A.—I lived in Brahmvart/Bithoor. Tatia Tope my step-brother, lived with his family, but separate from us. We had been separated for two years before the mutiny commenced. It was known to me as well as to all that Tatia Tope was concerned in the said mutiny. After the lapse of many days, the rebels after fighting with the British Government were beaten ; meanwhile Nana Saheb Peshwa of the rebels left Bithoor and after crossing the Ganges ran away. Tatia Tope with his family followed him. The family of Tatia Tope consisted of his wife and son. I did not accompany him nor did I engage in the mutiny and did not leave Bithoor but remained there. The members of my family who remained at Bithoor were my.....father, mother, 6 brothers, including myself—all of one mother, my wife and elder brother's wife, one married sister. We were twice or thrice plundered like the rest of the ryots by the rebels. Afterwards I lived for about two months in Kakoopoor, from thence I went to Soorkee and remained there 2 or 3 months. I remained in Julwar 2 or 3 months. Afterwards I lived with my family in Beerbhowdar under the Scindia Sirkar. We lived in all these places without informing anybody of our being related to Tatia Tope and for this reason, that though we were not concerned in the mutiny, still we feared lest we might be apprehended owing to our relationship with Tatia Tope, and that we should have to remain in confinement until it was proved that we were not concerned in the rebellion. Thus through fear, we remained quiet in the above stated places. When we were in "Bheer" village Tatia Tope's lawful brother was living with his family in a village called "Yewlah" (Yewla, district Nasik) in the Deccan. For 11 years he had not seen his father and it being a rule among us that a meeting should take place within twelve years, he therefore came to Bheer village enquiring for his father, and there we met. He was alone, but he is the lawful brother of Tatia Tope. I am step-brother. We together with our parents and other members of the family were all seized by the Soobah of Scindia Sirkar, on information being given by some person that we

were relatives of Tatia Tope, and imprisoned, and were sent to the Scindia Sirkar. Macpherson Sahib was the representative of the British Government at Gwalior. He after eliciting all the information he could from us caused a list of our property to be drawn up. We moved about as quietly as possible for fear of being apprehended by the Scindia Sirkar owing to our relationship with Tatia Tope. This we stated in writing. We were then kept in the Gwalior Fort until satisfactory enquiries had been made regarding us. About 11 or 11½ months we were in confinement, when after satisfactory enquiries had been made we were released by Meade Sahib, who succeeded Macpherson Sahib, and who returned us our property. We were ordered to remain in Gwalior for one year and not to go away without the Sirkar's order—accordingly we remained in Gwalior openly, and after the lapse of one year the Scindia Sirkar gave us permission to leave. On this I went to Meade Sahib and represented that we had permission to leave Gwalior and begged for some document by which we might not be detained at any other places. On this the Sahib furnished us with a document which we showed to the Sahib at Bithoor when we went there, who after taking a copy of it, returned the paper to me. The original document is with my father. On the strength of this document we remained at Bithoor with my family for one year, but having no means of gaining our livelihood there, my father with the rest of the family went to Kasee (Benares) where they are now. I and my wife did not accompany them. Having made up my mind to gain a livelihood in some way or other, and having obtained a copy of the document in my father's possession, I left Bithoor and came to Indore, where a survey was being carried on in Holkar Sirkar's country. I obtained a Karkoon's place on Rs. 7 a month under a measurer. I performed this work for 6 to 7 months and my name was written down as Ramkrishna Pandurang of Yewlaykur and the Karkun knew my surname to be Tope—I left the place of my own accord, and came here in the hope of serving under this Raj. I have brought a copy of the original document which I have laid before the Sirkar as before stated. I was apprehended because of my relationship with Tatia Tope, but after a satisfactory enquiry had been instituted, I was released, and a document furnished to me, on the strength of which and without fear I roamed about in the hope of obtaining employment. I have personally informed His Highness the Gaickwar that I am Tatia Tope's step-brother and produced a copy of the document I had by me as proof. If the Sirkar wishes, an enquiry can be made regarding the original document. My wife is in Baroda in the house above-mentioned.

Q.—Where is Tatia Tope now ?

A.—I do not know where he is. Since he left us we have not met nor have I ever heard of his whereabouts.

Q.—Where is Tatya Tope's lawful brother ?

A.—Since our release by the Sirkar and until my father left for Benares he was with him. I heard afterwards that he did not go to Benares but to "Yeulah" village. Whether he is now there or gone to some other place, I do not know as I have received no letter from him.

Q.—It is written in the copy of the paper shown by you that you must live at Bithoor. Were you and your father residing at another place with the sanction of the Sirkar or not ? If with the sanction of the Sirkar then produce the order. You have stated that you roamed about from place to place, did you obtain the Sirkar's permission to do so ? If so, produce that order also.

A.—According to agreement I remained with my father at Bithoor. When we showed the document to the Sahib at Bithoor, that gentleman said we might reside where we liked. When my father with his family proceeded to Benares, he did not obtain the Sahib's sanction. In like manner when I left Bithoor to roam about I did not obtain the Sahib's order, therefore, I have no document in my possession, regarding it.

Q.—When you and your father left Bithoor to go and reside in another place, why did you not obtain the English Sirkar's sanction.

A.—Our case had been enquired into and satisfactorily cleared up, and for one year only we were required not to leave Gwalior and go to another place. This having expired and thinking that there would be no objection to our leaving, we left Bithoor without obtaining the sanction of the English Sirkar.

(Signed) Ramkrishna Pandurang Topye.

The Permit

Be it known

That Pandurang Bolee Wullud Trimbak Bhutt, Rooghnathrow, Ramkrishna, Gangadhar, Luxman, Bujnath, Suddashive, Trimbak and Muthrabaee, Gungabaee, Radhabaee, and Doorgabaee, brothers and

sisters of Tatia Tope were apprehended by the Kamdars of Gwalior in "Bhundsee" and brought here on the 15th August 1858 and were tried by me on the 27th of May 1859, and released because it was found that they were not concerned in the late mutiny and nothing having been proved against Pandurang before the Maharaja Sindhia Bahadoor Alijah, an order is issued that a letter be sent to the Magistrate of Kawnpoor, to the effect that the abovenamed persons be ordered to take up their residence at Bithoor. The Wakeel of the Durbar also is ordered to give this paper to Pandurang to inform him that these people should present themselves before the Magistrate of Kawnpoor on 26th April 1860."

SHOULD BE SENT BACK TO GWALIOR

No. 1473 of 1862.

From

MAJOR R. J. MEADE,
Agent G. G. for C. I.

To

W. H. HAVELOCK, Esq.,
Acting Secretary to Government, Bombay.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge your letter No. 387 of date 21st instant transmitting copy of a letter, with accompaniment, from the Assistant Resident of Earoda, relative to a person named "Ramchristna bin Pandurang"—avowing himself to be a step-brother of Tatia Tope,—who was recently arrested at Baroda, and requesting me to furnish any information in my powers regarding the prisoner and his family, and to test the correctness of statement by separate enquiry.

2. In reply, I have the honour to state, for the information of His Excellency the Governor in Council, that the circumstances related by the prisoner are perfectly true, the capture and subsequent release of the family having occurred, as set forth by him, with my personal knowledge.

3. I myself furnished the Certificate or Purwanah, of which a translation is appended to the accompaniments to your letter under

reply, authorizing and directing the several persons named therein to proceed to Bithoor and report themselves to the Magistrate of Cawnpoor.

4. I am of course unable to say that the prisoner is really one of the persons named in this document, but from his accurate account of what transpired at Gwalior in regard to himself and his family, I should say that he is the individual he represents himself to be.

5. I should add that strong suspicion naturally rested on this family, as being, so nearly related to the Arch-Rebel Tatia Topee, but that no proof whatever was obtained of any of its members having been implicated in the transactions or proceedings of the rebellion.

I have the honour to be,

R. J. Meade,
Agent G. G. for C. I.

Indore Residency,
25th November 1862.

From

The RESIDENT ;

To

The ACTING SECRETARY to GOVERNMENT,
Political Department, Bombay.

No. 79/821 of 1862.

Sir,

In reply to your letter of the 10th instant No. 407 calling for a reply on the subject of a letter from the Agent Governor General for Central India, I have the honour to refer you to my letter of the 14th November last No. 72/750 suggesting that the person calling himself a step-brother of Tatia Tope should be sent back to Gwalior where he can be directed to proceed to some other destination.

I have the honour to be
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) Resident.

Baroda Residency,
17th December 1862.

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13. RAOSAHEB'S EMISSARIES IN GUJARAT

[The following letters show the nature of intrigues carried on by the emissaries of Raosaheb Peshwa. As Major R. Meade has said these intrigues were of no consequence. A few of Raosaheb's followers were trying to keep up the fire, while some others, it looks, were exploiting the situation for personal ends. The letter writer Venkateshwar, has expressed what worth some of these emissaries were. However these letters have some importance particularly the first one written by Venkateswar, which contains some important statements. The report of his journey from Nagpur to Nepal and back to Baroda contains some names which might help to connect missing links. He tells that 'he had the honour to have an audience with the Sirkar—Nanasaheb'. This was some time between May and September (1861) (Shahamet Ali's letter No. 43 para. 6). If this is correct then the idea that Nanasaheb died on 24th September, 1859, as reported by Jung Bahadur Rana of Nepal, will have to be given up. From this point this letter is likely to be important.

Raosaheb Peshwa

Raosaheb Peshwa was the nephew of Nanasaheb and had accompanied him when he (Nana) left Bithoor and went to Oudh. Tatya and Raosaheb returned and reorganised the army at Kalpi (Malleson). Raosaheb was declared to be at the head of the Government at Gwalior. After their defeat at Gwalior Raosaheb shared all the sufferings which Tatya had to endure. He was left by Tatya (about January, 1859). Raosaheb, it seems, remained in Gujarat Jungles, for about two months. Major R. Meade in his letter No. 17C, states that the disturbances at Burvani also were organised by Raosaheb and his nephew was at its head. He was wandering in the guise of a Bairagi pilgrim in the hills north of the Punjab where he was traced and arrested. He was brought to Kanpore, tried and sentenced to be hanged. He was executed on the 20th of August, 1862.]

Extracts from Baroda Residency Records

(Baroda Residency Volume No. 177 Baroda Record Office No. 380)

In 1862 one Govind Shastri of Bithoor was captured by Scindia's officers at Khanchraud in Malwa. Some treasonable correspondence was found in possession of this person which showed that even after the suppression of the rebellion of 1857 the Peshwa's men were not

idle. There was a plot of forming a district in the Nizam's territory with a view to make it the head-quarter of their revolutionary activities without detection. The correspondence referred to above has been reproduced here :—

No. 26 of 1862

From

M. I. SHAW STEWART, Esquire,
Acting Secretary to Government, Bombay.

To

THE RESIDENT AT BARODA,
Secret Department.

Dated 16th January 1862.

" Sir,

I am directed by the Honourable ...the Governor in Council to forward for your information the enclosed copy of a letter from the Governor General's Agent in Central India, dated the 7th instant, No. 17-C, together with copy of a report from his Native Assistant, and translations of certain treasonable correspondence discovered on the capture in Malwa of one Gobind Shastree of Bithoor."

No. 17-C

From

MAJOR R. I. MEADE,
Agent for Government for Central India.

To

THE SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT,
Bombay.

Indore Residency, dated 7th January 1862.

" Sir,

I have the honour to forward herewith for your perusal a copy of a Report from the Native Assistant of this Agency on duty at

Oojein enclosing a translation of certain correspondence referring to the intrigue still on foot by the Rao Sahib and his agents which has recently come to light on the capture in Malwa of one Gobind Shastree of Bithoor.

2. The Native Assistant's suggestion that enquiry might be made for Dadoo Bummun, the writer of No. 2 letter, in the temple of Parisnath at Bombay appears to me to be worth acting on.

3. I do not attach much importance to the statement contained in these papers as the information they contain is vague and meagre. They tend to show, however, that the Rao's Agents have not yet ceased their plots and intrigues, and that watchfulness is still required on the part of our authorities.

4. It has been stated that the late outbreak of the Bheels in Burwanee was got up at the instigation of 16 persons styling themselves agents of the Rao, and who asserted that his nephew was at hand with an army of 2,500 men.

I have received no detailed account on this point, but it is probable enough that it may prove to be true.

Copy No. 43

From

MEER SHAHAMET ALLI,
Native Assistant to Agent Governor General, Central India.

To

MAJOR R. I. MEADE,
Agent Governor General for Central India.

Camp Oojein, dated 26th December 1861.

Sir,

I have the honour to forward, for your information and consideration, copies of some documents written in the Maratha language with their abstract translation in English regarding the recent plotting intrigues carried on by Rao Saheb Peshwa's emmissaries

in the Deccan and Gujrat.

2. These papers, which are not without interest, were in possession of a Shastree named Gobind of Bithoor, who was lately captured by Scindhia's authorities at Kanchrede, and is now a prisoner at Bherongurh with Ramrao Sir Sooba. A perusal of them will give you a little insight into the present secret plans and seditious movements of Rao Saheb's partizans, and show that they are not idle, and that the prisoner is a man of some importance though it is not yet clear who he actually is. This case is now under investigation.

This man, as may be observed, on referring to the Sur Sooba's letter to my address, a copy of which is also enclosed, was arrested with few followers named in margin whilst on his way from Mundsor towards Indore. He is probably the same Shastree, who in the rainy season of 1860 made his escape from Nur Singgurh and for the apprehension of whom the late Agent Governor General manifested a great desire. A descriptive roll of that man, if in the Residency Office, may be useful in identifying him.

Balaparshadger of Aurangbad.
Ooma Hajjam of Marwar.
Salugram of Jahanzpoor Meywar
Basheiseed of Audh Sultanpoor.
Rambax of Doondia Kheira Ganjapoor.

4. The author of the long letter, No. 1, dated likely last May, is Wenkatasher, probably a Maratha "Watandar" of the Carnatic Zilla. It is evidently addressed to Rao Saheb Peshwa. The post script added to it in the Telung language which no one here has yet been able to read, perhaps contains the pith of the letter. The purport of it as soon as ascertained will be duly communicated.

5. The point that deserved a prominent and immediate notice in the Maratha part of this letter, is the plan of farming a district in the Nizam's territory with a view to make it the head quarters of their mischievous machinations as its position may enable them to devise and execute any scheme without detection to the latest hour. It is certainly an ingenious device and the rebels seem to have set their heart on its success. Their only difficulty appears to be the want of pecuniary means. The secret mission composed of Wishnoopanth and Narain Rao Motsudee sent to Gwalior in the month of last July, seems to have the same object in view. How far this deputation succeeded in its mission and to whom it was sent, it is not yet certain, but that it had really that object in view, is clear from a curt allusion in the letter, No. 4 from Kishna Baee.

An enquiry in the Nizam's Durbar as to who have lately taken farm of district belonging to that State, may show how far they have been successful in their mission.

6. The other letter that forms part of the enclosures seems to be addressed also either to Rao Saheb or some one in his confidence. The period of the correspondence extends over five months, viz., from May 1861 to last September. The man named Dadoo Bummun who addressed the letter No. 2 may probably be still at Bombay, and may be found in the temple which he names. His capture may lead to the discovery of the whole scheme connected with Baroda and Hyderabad, a search might also be made at Gwalior for Kashi Baee and Wamanrao Thakoor who sent a Hoondee on Jaypoor in last July. They may perhaps be still in that place. The letter No. 6 has apparently been as its style shows, addressed by a Rajput probably to the Rao Saheb himself through the man whose name it bears the Shastree.

7. No other point in the accompanying correspondence deserves any particular notice at present but it is worthy of remark that there is a strong impression in the Country that there is no principal town either in Central India, Gujarat or the Deccan, where some agents of the rebel Peshwa may not be found in concealment but outwardly engaged in avocations which may elude all discovery, and bring them at the same time constantly in communication with people on terms of intimacy without raising the slightest suspicion as to their real mission. Although under a vigilant and strong Government they can never expect to be in any way successful in their seditious designs, yet such state of affairs is I think, any thing but satisfactory to the general quiet of the Country. With a view therefore to deter them effectually and completely from their mischievous intentions, perhaps it may not be inadvisable to omit no opportunity to visit with examplary punishment, such men as the Shastree and Kaka Pherkia, who may be detected practically engaged in plotting intrigues as well as those who may be found abetting and sheltering them in their houses.

Wenkateshwar Meets Nana Saheb (1861)

Copy No. 1

From Wenkatesher purporting to be addressed probably to Rao Saheb Peshwa without date.

"On your departure from Kalpee a report got abroad that your

camp had arrived somewhere in the vicinity of Poona and Hyderabad. Thereon five of the influential Zamindars (Watandars) of my country leaving our families and relations behind, with a party of troops started to join you. On our way to Nagpoor road, however, we came accross, some Madras Regiments of Infantry who closely pressed us on all sides, and obliged us to seek shelter with a party of Arabs in a neighbouring Jharee, where we continued for some time waiting for your arrival, but soon after our means of subsistance failing us, three of us resolved to join you.

With that view leaving two of our colleagues behind at the head of Troops we proceeded to Chiturkote, but on our arrival there being informed that you were encamped somewhere in the Jharee we proceeded thither, but succeeded only in meeting the Dewan of Chiturkote who stated that some of your men had gone off to Nepal and the rest were scattered abroad in Malwa. We then being in all three Zamindars viz., 2 Bummons one 1 Maratha, went to Nepal where, in the Temple of "Pashoo Patessher Mahadeo", we happened to meet a country man of ours "Bummon of Multhun. He gave us every information we wanted and thro' him had the honor of an audience with the Sirkar (Nana Saheb). On hearing all we had to say he gave us every assurance of good prosperity. On that occassion the Chota Maharaj (Balarao) was sick. We continued there for some time, but the climate not agreeing with our health we were permitted to return and desired to proceed to Malwa and to notify in the name of the Nana that all would be right (sub bundo bust hojaega). We were at the same time instructed to proceed by Ajuddia and were furnished with some money to meet travelling expenses. On leaving Nepaul one of us named Balwant Rao remained behind and two of us came down to Ajuddia where we put up in the house of your father-in-law. We stayed there for nearly a month when some cash and certain cloth were received from you. From Ajuddia we went to Allahabad and here my other companion also remained behind, and I alone with some Dharmee Acharya religious devotees, Bairagees proceeded to Furrakhabad, on my way to Bendrabun. At the former place I met Shunkar Shastree Telung who was formerly with you at Beithoor. I was his guest for 15 days meanwhile a man called Dada Pherkia probably Kaka Pherkia (Phadke ?) arrived there from Indore. He informed me that owing to ill health, you had stayed in Malwa for a time with the Baba-Baba Aptia probably soon after the Pherkia went on to the Hazoor (Nana). On leaving Furrukhabad I came out to Malwa and on arrival heard nothing either of yourself or the Baba but was told that you had gone to Marwar-Meywar. I proceeded therefore to that country visiting on my way Jeypoor, Jodhpur and

Panlee and thence went to Gujerat where it was said you were then staying. On Sawun Sood Poonum—1st August 1860—I accordingly reached Baroda. At this place a man told me that you were there, and that he would had lead me to your presence. At last on Kartik Sood Punchmee—17th November 1860—he introduced me to a person designating himself Rao Saheb whom I presented a Nazer and informed him of all I had to say. Hereafter I had an opportunity of meeting him every second day. His conversation, however, one day raised some suspicions in my mind as to his being Rao Saheb, but not being acquainted with the latter I took no further notice of the matter. In short in the month of Pous following (December) he told me that nothing could be done satisfactorily at Baroda, and that therefore it was advisable to proceed to my country where old partizans could be collected. At the same time he informed me that he was in need of means to meet the current expenses and asked me to aid him with a sum, and that subsequently he could get sufficient money from Indore. In consequence I was obliged to borrow Rs. 500 from some Acharees (cooks) who had collected this sum by beggary and after having him properly equipped saw him start from Baroda. On leaving he wished me to follow him with his Dewan Rughunath Rao, who, he said was to look to all our pecuniary wants on the way. The Dewan, however, though repeatedly urged did not leave till after a month. At last he proposed to furnish me with Rupees 5,000 and therewith wishing me to collect some Persian Troops. To this proposition I readily agreed and we both then proceeded to Bombay. On our arrival there I showed him how the matter could be managed. He, however, played me a trick. He said he had no money and would go back to fetch it wishing me at the same time to continue at Bombay. Accordingly he went back to Baroda and never returned. I being a perfect stranger in the place was put to much inconvenience in consequence sometime after, however, I happened on Maugh budee Amawas (11th March 1861) to meet on sea side a Dadoo Bummon, a " Perdesee " (a Foreigner) who had just returned from a pilgrimage to Dwarka. He spoke to me open heartedly and informed me of all the particulars which disheartened much. He also told me that the man whom I met at Baroda and who had assumed the name of Rao Saheb was named Ram Rao Juneish who assumed presumptuous airs and that the Dadoo also was with him at that place for a time but not approving of his doubtful conduct, he had separated himself from him and had proceeded thence to Dwarka whence he had just returned. On hearing this account I surely felt much vexed and asked him to show me the way to meet the Sirkar (Rao Saheb). He told me in reply that it was very inconvenient to go where you were, and

at the same time the result would not be favourable because he said you could not supply us with necessary funds. A few days after the Dadoo happened to meet a Mutsuddoo (Narain Rao) an old acquaintance of his and introduced him to me. I found him to be in every way a very expert man. One day he introduced me to a Sirdar a Bummon by caste and a great Umrao and a noble and a liberal minded man. After we had some meetings, one day in the course of conversation I let him know the whole affair and asked him to devise some plan by which we could serve you. He advised to try to farm a district in the Hyderabad Territory and then we might succeed in accomplishing the end we had in view. With this object he wished me to join the Sawaree and procure some pecuniary aid. Accordingly on the Phagun Buddee Punchmee (31st March 1861) we arrived at Earoda, on the 11th April were joined by the Dadoo. We intended coming out to meet you, that being in want of means we could not carry out this design. I however by a clerical dodge contrived to address a suitable letter to the Sirdar at Bombay. In reply he said that he had made arrangement that if 3 lakhs rupees could be paid in advance a province yielding 20 lakhs rupees might be farmed, and wished me to return immediately with the bearer of his letter at least with 2 lakhs for the present. This information was forthwith communicated to Rugapunt Rao and Wishnoopunt your agents residing here, requesting them to communicate all the particulars to you which they readily agreed to do. At the same time I delivered to them a letter to be forwarded to you. On the Cheit Buddee (25th April 1861) they gave me a letter saying that it was from you, but on examining it I discovered that it was a fictitious answer written by themselves. I mention these particulars merely for information that you may be aware how your people behave. I am now ready to return to Bombay. Pray send out positively a trustworthy Mutsudee on your part to accompany me. He will be sent back as soon as the necessary arrangements have been made. I send out Gangaram to wait upon you. Please depute some one on your part to come out with him. Ram Rao has entrapped in your name several men in this quarter. They now feel much perplexed especially one a Maratha Sirdar, named Nana, a clever and liberal minded man. He is involved in pecuniary responsibilities to a great extent, but still his heart is with you. I have nothing more to say at present. Pray favour me with an early reply. Narain Rao Mutsudee and Dadoo offer their respects. (Here follow 8 lines in the Telung language which no one here has yet been able to read.) "

Copy No. 2

"Dadoo presents his Namaskar (complements) to Surnadas and begs to inform that up to Beisakha Budee Punchmee (25th May 1861) they were all quite well and request Dargah Chobeh, Soordas and Gujraj to be sent to the Temple of Parisnath situated in the Bhindee Bazar, Bombay."

Copy No. 3

The names of the addresser and the addressee are not mentioned. Probably from Wishnoopant to Rao Sahib.

"Upto the 13th Jeith (5th July 1861) I continue here (Gwalior) and have delivered to several parties the letters of which I was the bearer. I borrowed Rs. 50 from Waman Rao Thakur and an equal sum from Kashi Baee and have remitted to you both sums by a Hoondee by Oodeshal Ram Sal in the firm of Chunder Bhaw Bansee Ram of Jeypoor. How this sum is to be disposed of, you will learn from the Shastree's letter. Narain Rao who came with me is an industrious and clever man. He can be entrusted on any long journey through the Jharee. A man called Bapoo Saheb has lately arrived at Gwalior. He is about to go on a Pilgrimage to Nathadowara. I intend coming out with him and on arrival will give you a detailed account of this quarter. In the mean time you should go to Nathadewara. Narain Rao leaves in the morning to join you. You will receive every information from him. Please offer my Namaskar to Sakharam Gobind Rao and Nana, my Assirbad to Bala Parshadger and tell the latter that his man lately visited this place and succeeded in selling a portion of his goods and leaving the rest in the custody of the Tekhetwala."

Copy No. 4

From Gangadhur Kasheebaee to Mama Saheb.

"We are quite well at Gwalior upto the 13th Jeith (5th July 1861) I have received 4 letters from you viz. 3 not paid and 1 registered. An answer to them was forwarded on the 11th instant. To-day I send you a Hundee on Jeypoor for Rs. 90 equal to Rs. 101 Chandoree. Of this sum Rs. 50 have been received from Wamun

Rao and the rest belongs to myself. I likewise send you by this opportunity two articles namely a Shola, a dining dress and a Dorajpa, a kind of head dress. I had a meeting today with the Mosharieneleh (meaning probably Narain Rao) who is your most trustworthy Agent. Wishnupunt Bhawe has been here for last 6 days to attend to the Bombay affair. After he has done the business he will come over to you. Pending his arrival you should make no movements in any direction to enable him to meet you without failing. Narrain Rao leaves in the morning to join you. You will learn all the particulars from him. The Hoondee is payable 21 days from date. If necessary realize the amount earlier deducting interest for the unexpired time. Wishnoopunt, Parbatee, Jankuram, Luchman Rao, Waman Rao, Gopal Rao Samoleeram, Dajee offer their Namashkar and also ample Asseerbad on the part of Kakhoobaee, etc., etc."

No. 5

To Shastreejee, dated 11th Bhadou 1918, corresponding with 1st September 1861.

"Please offer my Asseerbad to Ram Rao as well as to Rambux and other Sirdars. The day I see you all will be the day of great rejoicing with me. I have been delighted to hear good tidings of you from Basheeserpershad sepoy who came from you. By your favour all is right here. I pray that Permeisher (God) may make you prosperous and happy. Khemansing offers his Ram Ram."

No. 6

Debee Sing to Shashtreejee, dated 7th Bhadoor Soolee, 1918 or 13th September 1861.

"Your man has delivered your letter. It is not however intelligible nor the man has communicated any verbal message. He spoke about 2 men. I have not however yet seen them. Now-a-days there are good many people to be seen here on the part of the "Seree Datar" (Govt.). You had therefore better avail yourself of a night to go away to some safer place. I am ready to attend to all your order."

No. 45 of 1861

From

MEER SHAHAMET ALLI,
Native Assistant to Agent G. G. for C. I.

To

MAJOR R. J. MEADE,
Agent Govr. Genl., for C. India.

Dated Camp Oojein, 27th December 1861.

" Sir,

In continuation of my letter No. 43, dated 26th instant, I have the honour to inform you that the postscript in the Telunga language therein referred to contains no fresh matter worthy of notice. It merely repeats, but rather in stronger terms, the request to send out a trustworthy Agent to go with Wenkatusher to Bombay, assuring Rao Saheb that he would entertain no doubt in his mind as to the possibility of the success of the projected scheme."

14. ATTEMPTS OF GOPAL ANTAJI IN GUJARAT, 1865

(Residency Bound Volume No. 177. Baroda Records Office No. 380)
(Secret Department Correspondence 1853-66)

[After the break down of the upheaval of 1857, many emissaries of Nana Saheb Peshwa were believed to be moving about in the country disguised as fakeers or Bairagees with a view to raise the country by collecting men and money. In 1865, a person named Gopal Antaji alias Guru Krishna and his associates were apprehended at Ahmedabad. Gopal Antaji was alleged to be in league with an important emissary of Nanasaheb bearing many alias of Raghunathrao, Ramrao, Rao Saheb, etc., and under his guidance, attempted to commit depradations at Dwarka, Kadi, Patan, Baroda, Deesa, Rajkot, Ahmedabad and Kaira. Gopal Antaji posed himself as Nana Saheb and presented 'Sirpavs' and granted Sanads, etc. The whole group was handed over by the British Government to the Gaekwar Sarkar for trial and for dealing with them according to law. The following are the papers connected with that case.]

No. 24 of 1865

From

J. E. OLIPHANT, Esquire,
Magistrate of Ahmedabad;

To

THE HON'BLE B. H. ELLIST,
Revenue and Police Commissioner,
Northern Division.

Ahmedabad Magistrate's Office
14th January 1865.

Sir,

Adverting to your No. 4002 of 1864, in the case of certain persons recently apprehended at Ahmedabad for state offences informing me that the Hon'ble the Governor in Council will await a further report as to whether there is any case against the prisoners which could be sustained on trial either before a Court, in British or Gaekwar's Territory.....I have the honour to submit a statement showing the charges to which these persons have rendered themselves liable and the evidence forthcoming to substantiate them.

2. I regret that the Police have not succeeded in discovering the Karbharee who effected his escape on the morning the chief conspirator was arrested—as there is no doubt that he was (from his superior intelligence and powers of intrigues) the mainspring of the plot. He wore the dress of a Gujaratee and called himself Pranshunker but there is no doubt from the result of our enquiries that he is a Dekhanee Brahmin called Rughunathrow a native of a village not far from Poona, the name of which however, has not transpired. I strongly suspect that this man under the alias of Krishen Rao and the prisoner No. 1 under the name of Ram Rao were the leaders in the Hyderabad conspiracy of 1862, who managed to make good their escape. On this subject I have addressed the Resident whose reply will be hereafter communicated.

3. I have not been successful in discovering who the prisoner No. 1 (Calling himself Gopal Krishna), really is. He is supposed to be a near relative of the Nana, probably his nephew

Ramoo, son of his elder brother Baba Bhut. I forwarded two photographs of this individual with a descriptive roll to the Magistrate of Cawnpoor, who replied that he had shown them to several persons acquainted with Ramoo, son of Baba Bhut, but from the extent of hair on the face and the change in the features since they saw him when he was much younger, they do not recognize the portraits.

4. No reliable evidence is forthcoming to show that the conspirators had tampered with the Native Troops or Police but they would appear to have endeavoured principally to raise followers in the Kuree Pargunna of the Gaekwar's Territories by giving presents of clothing, small sums of money and promises to the Kolees and persons supposed to have influenced with the Mewassee inhabitants of that district. The Chief Agent in Kuree appears to have been Motee Tricum Janee, a Police Officer in the service of His Highness the Gaekwar. I have however very little doubt that had their machinations proved successful and a favourable opportunity offered disturbances would have been raised and depredations committed in the territories of her Majesty the Queen.

5. It will be seen that evidence obtained points mainly to a conspiracy against the Government of His Highness the Gaekwar and charges have therefore been so framed as being the most susceptible of proof. From papers found here and at Baroda and from other proofs there is no doubt that the chief conspirator and his companions had intimate relations with the rebel Wagheers at Okhamandel and that their prime agent there was the Swamee or High Priest at Dwarka. This man is now a prisoner at Baroda, and confesses to having been cognisant of the Raosahib Peshwa's negotiations with the Wagheer Chiefs.

Colonel Wallace writes me as under. "We have sufficient evidence to proceed against him (the Chief prisoner here) as conspiring against this Government and in of course incidentally against the British Government and it would go hard with him if tried here on such a charge."

6. I am therefore of opinion that the prisoners noted in the accompaniment had better be tried before some court in His Highness the Gaekwar's Territory on charges similar to those I have framed."

No. 572

Political Department.

Bombay Castle, 1st March 1865.

The Resident at Baroda (No. 12, dated 7th February 1865) states in reply to a reference from Government, dated the 1st instant that he agrees generally with Mr. Oliphant in thinking that it will be convenient to transfer the prisoners recently apprehended at Ahmedabad for State Offences, to His Highness the Gaekwar's jurisdiction.

(Sd.) C. GONNE,
Acting Secretary to Government.

The Magistrate, Ahmedabad.

No. 184 of 1865.

27th March 1865.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that the trial of the prisoners arrested at Ahmedabad and sent here for trial by the Durbar has been brought to a close with the following result.

1.	Gopal (Gooroo) Krishna	...	Transportment for life.
2.	Pranshunkur Hurrgovan	...	Fourteen years.
3.	Khema Kala Goglee	...	Ten years.
4.	Dajee Bhugwan	...	Fourteen years.
5.	Narain Lukshmeram	...	Fourteen years.
6.	Purbooram Hurrybhai	...	Acquitted.
7.	Bhapurao Kassinath	...	Ten years.
8.	Hurreedass Madhoodass	...	One year.
9.	Krishna Bhut Jugonath	...	Seven years.

10.	Dajee Moroba	...	One year.
11.	Kassinath Anunt	...	One year.
12.	Munoredass Gungadass	...	Acquitted.
13.	Madhowlal Lulloobhaee	...	Acquitted.
14.	Lullo Runchod	...	Seven years.
15.	Motee Treekum Janee	...	For life.
16.	Oomerkhan	...	Seven years.
17.	Sirdarkhan	...	One year.
18.	Hyderkhan	...	One year.

Besides these nine others were put on trial as follows for participation in the same offence within Gaekwar's Territory.

1.	Moorleedhur Bappojee	...	For life.
2.	Narain Row Ramchundra	...	Ten years.
3.	Shumboo Bin Doulut	...	For life.
4.	Tokra Swamee Priest of Dwarka.		Fourteen years.
5.	Anopram Jugjeevan	...	Seven years.
6.	Ambashunkur Mahashunkur	...	Seven years.
7.	Ram Bhut Alias Roteeram	...	Five years.
8.	Nundram Ootumram	...	Acquitted.
9.	Gunput Row Sufferay	...	Three years.

His Highness the Gaekwar has requested me to ascertain whether our Government would wish to take charge of these convicts or any of them and I think it best to send the request through you for your opinion.

With the exception of the Mussulman prisoners all of them acknowledged their guilt to a greater or less degree and the evidence against all appeared to me sufficient to meet the charge as framed by you.

The principal conspirators being Brahmins the Durbar would not inflict capital punishment.

I have the honour to enclose the petition relative to the Mandir in Ahmedabad which has been I hear sequestrated."

PROCLAMATION OF NANA SAHEB PESHWA

[A few documents have been published by eminent authors like Kaye Forrest and Muir as proclamations of Nana Saheb Peshwa. Though styled as proclamations, mostly they were sent by Nana Saheb to his followers like Holasing-Kotwal of Canpore, Kalka-prasad Kanungo of Oude, the Thanedar of Sirsoul, etc. Even the document published as Nana's proclamation by Kaye and Forrest is not much different. But the document given below can be said to be in a category of its own ; it is not merely a kind of news or a narrative of events as Nana Saheb's other proclamations more or less purport to be. Here is a Royal edict which shows Nana-saheb as having assumed the role of the defender of 'Hindu Rilligion,' whose object was to 're-establish Hindu and Mahomadam Kingdoms,'. He issued this proclamation by order of the "Ullee Shan, Bundageen, Ulee Hoozoor", the Emperor of Delhi, as his Panta Pradhan Peishwa. This document which seems to be unique was found in the Nargunda papers after the defeat and flight of Baba-sahib Nargundkar in June 1858.]

"GOD HAS COMMISSIONED ME TO ANNIHILATE THE KAFFURS AND TO PROTECT THE COUNTRY"

PROCLAMATION OF NANASAHEB PESHWA

(P. D. Volume 36 of 1858, Pages 232 to 237)

"From Dhondo Punt Nana Peishwa, Punt Prudhan to all the Surinjamdars, Jageerdars, Deshmooks, Deshpandeys and other Jameendars, Patels, Coolkernees, Naikwads, Shetsundees and the whole of the population of the Deccan and the Carnatic it is ordered to be proclaimed that—

The English who are "Kaffurs" came to this country under pretence of carrying on trade. Afterwards instigating sedition among our Surinjamdars and practising treacherry they seized all the Hindoo and Mahomedan Kingdom, imprisoning some of the descendants of the former kings and driving others to beggary they themselves enjoy the country. This is well known to the whole of you.

The "Kaffurs" upon the strength of their acquisition of the Empire have turned very arrogant, and, keeping up outward appearances of justice, have most unjustly destroyed life and acquired wealth and property. They have been endeavouring to

delude and convert the population of this country by inducing them to abandon their own religion and caste, but, having failed by mild means to do this, they were about to use force.

Tyranny, wickedness and injustice having been much practiced by the "Kaffur" English on the faithful and sin-fearing I have been commissioned by God to punish the "Kaffurs" by annihilating them and to re-establish the Hindoo and Mahomedan Kingdoms as formerly and to protect our country and I have conquered the country north of the Nurbuda river.

To submit to and live under such wicked "Kaffurs" is very disgraceful. So immediately on the perusal of this proclamation you are bravely to take up your swords and without mercy destroy the "Kaffurs". By this you will gain merit and show your manliness and your courage will be proved.

Ye heroes! this is the best time for you to avenge the wrongs and wickedness perpetrated by the "Kaffur" English on your grandfathers and on your kings. By allowing such an opportunity to escape do not suffer the stain of being effiminate and foolish to attach to the people of the south.

At the present time the English having disagreements among themselves about their religion are quarrelling and fighting and killing each other. The French and the Russians who entertained from a long time a hatred against the English and a design to turn them out of Hindoostan have thought this a proper time to carry it out and with this intention they have been sending armies by sea these three months past. The Chinese also have declared war against these "Kaffurs" and the latter having no army to send against the Chinese are much alarmed. The Persians, Afghans and Beloochees moreover are ready with their armies collected to aid us. In short this is the golden time to root out completely the English from this country. The "Kaffur" English, in order to discourage the population, fabricate false information of their having retaken Delhi and other places having defeated us and make it known among the public; but such ought not to be believed. If you allow this time to escape all of you will be liable to punishment from us and for that guilt whatever Jageers, Lands and other subsistence you may possess will be brought under attachment.

This proclamation is published by order of "Ullee Shan" "Bundeegan" "Ulee Hoozoor" the Emperor of Delhi,

by Rao Punt Prudhan Peishwa—

"True Translation"

(Signed)

Magistrate of Dharwar.

(Accompaniment to Dharwar Magistrate's letter No. 1488 of 28th September 1858)

PEOPLES' PROCLAMATIONS

Rewards for European Heads

(P. D. Vol. 28 of 1857, Pages 5 to 8 and 11 to 12)

"By order of the rightful Government Proclamation is made by Horndew Sharma to all Hindoos and Mussalmans who are informed that the English having combined together have through deeds ruined every one. For this reason all who are going (hopefuls) should collect their people and kill them (the English) and those natives in their service, such as the native army and in the Revenue Department Mamlatdars, Mahulkurrys, Peons, etc., unless they join with us. The Ryots must not be injured. 1/4th of the Revenue is to be remitted and the other 3/4 are to be collected by the Jamindars who will pay those who assemble (join against the English) double the pay they receive from the English. If there is not money enough for this, after some time, assistance in money, for pay and rewards together will be sent from Hindoostan. When that comes, all will be paid. But all must assist and those who injure the Ryots must be watched and the Europeans must be killed (suddenly attacked). In that attack those who will kill or bring in alive any Europeans will over and above their pay receive the following scale of rewards:—

	Rs
For each dead body (European) ...	500
For Collector, Judge in or any one of equal rank alive: ...	10,000
For Colonel, Major or Captain or any one of equal rank: ...	13,000
For Governor or Chief Justice or any one of equal rank: ...	50,000

Above these any showing particular zeal shall receive either villages in Inam or some other reward which it is impossible how to specify, and any of our people giving information to the Europeans will be imprisoned for twelve years. All should do their work with diligence."

Given near
Bheema Sunker
Bhadrapud Shudh 13
Shuke 1779.

Wamanjee Boodajee
Man Subedar,
Bheemarao Atmaram Sirdar.

PROCLAMATION OF NANASAHEB PESHWA

Within Six Weeks—in Poona

(Pages 7-8)

The Wuzeer of the King of Delhi Narain Rao Bajee Punt Pradhan.

"To all be known that after much fighting with the English, much country has been retaken and victory gained. In these authority has been established. Now a camp is formed at Yawul Sanklee (in Candeish). In six weeks having come to the Hoozoor at Poonah the country below the Sahyadree Range (Concan) and the Bombay Presidency will be recovered and the cows and Brahmins taken care of (the Hindoo Religion) and all will be allowed to enjoy their own religion. Those in employment take great care of the records. Afterwards according to custom Sirdars will be sent to conduct the Government and according to their orders all people must act. Let this be known. Chundre 25 Mohurum (corresponding with 15th September 1857)".

NANASAHEB PEṢHWA

Nanasaheb, the author of the proclamations, the senior most of the adopted sons of Bajirao II was 24 years old when Bajirao died (December, 1851). He was one of the chief leaders of the Rebellion. From the above quotation it seems clear that there is enough of material to prove that he was planning for it much earlier.

["It was no sudden thought, born of the accident of the greased

cartridges, that took the disappointed Brahmin and his Mohomedan friend to Lucknow in the spring of this year of trouble. For months, for years indeed, ever since the failure of the mission to England had been apparent, they had been quietly spreading their network of intrigue all over the country. From one native Court to another Native Court, from one extremity to another of the great continent of India, the agents of the Nana Saheb had passed with overtures and invitations, discreetly, perhaps mysteriously worded, to Princes and Chiefs of different races and religions, but most hopefully of all to the Mahrattas. At the three great Mahratta families—the families of the Rajah of Sattarah, of the Peishwah, of the Bhonsla—Lord Dalhousie had struck deadly blows. In the Southern Mahratta country indeed it seemed that Princes and Nobles were alike ripe for rebellion. It was a significant fact that the agents of the great Satara and Poona families had been doing their master's work in England about the same time, that both had returned to India rank rebels, and that the first year of Lord Canning's administration found Rango-Bapojee as active for evil in the South as Azim-oollah was in the North". [Sir J. Kaye, vol. I, P. 578].

When Azimoolla, Nanasaheb's trusted vakeel, was in Constantinople (1855), he had talks with Greek or Russian agents for helping an Indian Rebellion. It was then that "I (Mohamed Alikhan *alias* Jemie Green) and Azimoollah formed the resolution of attempting to overthrow the Company's Government and, Shookra Khooda, we have succeeded in doing that" (Great Mutiny -Forbes Mitchell—P. 183).

Mr. Russel in his 'Diary in India' states that 'Nanasaheb had visited military stations all along the main trunk road and went as far as Umballah to tamper with the Gurka regiments'. This was in early spring of 1856. Nanasaheb also had sent communications to Russia through Golabsingh of Jammu (Ibid vol. ii, P. 650.) The story that he was compelled by rebel sepoys to join them is inconsistent with this evidence. The dispossessed rulers and classes of India were seething with discontent and Nanasaheb was preparing the ground. On the point why he joined the rebellion Godse Bhatji, the author of the famous book 'Maza Prawas' or my travels—Marathi, states :—

"When a native army officer implored Nanasaheb to take the lead, he paused for a time and replied : 'If thousands of people are prepared to die for religion, I am also ready to leave my family. The river mother Ganges is witness to this (to what I say)*.

*Godse Bhatji, a priest from Kokan, was on a tour of North India for earning money and for pilgrimage when he found himself caught up in the disturbances caused by the rebellion of 1857. His uncle was a priest at Bithoor. Godse Bhatji was present at Zansi [*Continued* on next page]

In this proclamation also, Nanasaheb has stated the same objective. Mr. Morland the acting Commissioner at Bithoor reported that "Nana was a quite unostentatious young man and not at all addicted to any extravagant habits". (P. C. Gupta—p. 102).

The date of the death of Nanasaheb, viz., September 1859, as reported by Rana Jung Bahadur of Nepal to the British Residency does not seem to be beyond controversy because evidence contained in Landon's 'Nepal' (which is an exhaustive work on Nepal) does not seem to establish conclusively that Nana died on that date.]

KOLHAPUR REBELLION

[Kolhapur is the only place in Western India where the sepoys had rebelled as a part of the plan made by the leaders of 1857 Rebellion. As such the story of this event is important but it does not seem to have received sufficient attention. Sepoys of the 27th Native Infantry about two hundred in number stationed in Kolhapur rose in rebellion in July, 1857. They plundered the treasury and attacked the quarters of their British officers. The officers had taken shelter in time in safer quarters and were saved by the Raja's troops. The rebels could not enter the city as the gates remained closed. They stayed in a strong structure called the 'Paga' (or stable) for the night. In the morning most of them left the place and went in the direction of the ghats, and on their way, at Solankur, they met three of their European officers and killed them. About 40 of them, 20 Pardesees and 20 Marathas, occupied the Paga and made determined resistance. They were attacked by Lieut. Ker's detachments with the help of the Raja's guns. By the evening almost all the rebels were killed and the few remaining were wounded. This news caused consternation among Bombay Europeans ('Western India' by Sir Le. Grand Jacob, published in 1871) some of whom sent their families to the ships. General Jacob was sent to Kolhapur immediately. He reached there about the 10th August, 1857 and made enquiries about the rebellion. The first report sent by Bombay Government to the Government of India stated that 'in no case the population of the Native chiefs of the Southern Maratha country evinced any sympathy with the mutinius spirit". But Jacob himself has said that 'disaffection was general'.

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and had personally seen the operations of the attack on the city and has described them vividly in his writing. This book is one of the important original documents written by an Indian who had witnessed some of these events. The manuscript is kept in the Itihas Sanshodhaka Mandal, Poona.

The second rebellion broke out on the 6th of December, 1857. This was very ably handled by Major General Jacob himself and was suppressed on the second day. A drum court martial was immediately held on the open ground of the palace where eight men were blown from guns, two hanged and eleven shot by musketry. 'All met death with fortitude, refusing to purchase life by betraying their common secret'. (*Vide* Ibid P. 72-73). The extracts from Government Records given hereafter do not give the full story which is found in Jacob's book. But from the report made by him to the Bombay Government (21st March, 1858) it is clear that : (1) there was communication and planning between the Native Infantry at Kolhapur (No. 27th), Belgaum (No. 29th) and Dharwad (No. 28th) ; (2) Chimasaheb, the younger brother of the Raja, was the moving spirit behind this organisation ; (3) Chimasaheb had contacts with Nanasaheb Peshwa whose emissary had brought a gilded sword for him ; (4) Chimasaheb had contacts with Gwalior leaders, from where a deputation had visited Kolhapur under some pretext and had negotiations with Chimasaheb ; (5) Chimasaheb also had assured the Satara emissaries in June, 1857 that Kolhapur sepoys and also some chiefs were ready for action and that they were waiting for a signal from Satara. This shows the link and also co-ordination between Satara and Kolhapur plans. Seetaram Gupte, Rango Bapuji's son, was at Kolhapur (July) before his arrest. There was a link between the rebels at Kolhapur and their friends in the Poona School of Musketry. Greased cartridges were helpful in exciting the feelings of the sepoys. But political causes had released the discontent much earlier. 'It did not come out of greased cartridges but out of the Satara lapse' (Sir J. Kaye, Vol. III P. 407). 31 rebels, on the first occasion it seems, were executed before the trial was completed ; 51 people were executed for the second rebellion. Jacob himself had seen twenty-one souls being shot or blown. That brings the number to 103. The story still remains incomplete.]

BOMBAY GOVERNMENT'S REPORT ON KOLHAPUR MUTINY, 1857

(P. D. Vol. 26 of 1857, Pages 181 to 189)

Secret Department. No. 346 of 1857.

To

THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,
In the Foreign Department,
Fort William.

Sir,

I am directed by the Right H'onable the Governor in Council to report for the information of the Right H'onable the Governor General of India in Council the following particulars of a mutiny of a portion of the 27 Regiment N. I. stationed at Kolhapoor, and the several measures adopted by this Government for suppression, as well as for the preservation of order consequent on the position of affairs in the Southern Maratha Country.

2. The mutiny occurred on the night of the 31st July last. It was confined to about 200 men of the 27 Regiment, who commenced by attacking the quarters of their officers. On the alarm being given the officers succeeded in retiring with their families in safety to the Residency, where aided by the Irregular troops consisting of the Kolhapur Local Infantry, a detachment of the S. M. Horse, and the Rajas' Ressalah, the authorities were enabled to protect the European inhabitants, while the presence of these troops contributed in no small degree to confine the disturbance to the locality in which it originated. Having plundred the Regimental treasury and pillaged the cantonment bazaar the mutineers proceeded in the direction of the city of Kolhapoor, but finding that their entrance was opposed, they took up a fortified position in a Paga, situated in the suburbs of the city. Their position was attacked on the following morning by the Irregular troops under Colonel Maughan, Political Superintendent, but with no satisfactory result as in the absence of artillery the Paga was found to be impregnable. Before retiring however, Col. Maughan succeeded in capturing several mutineers, and successfully arranged for the apprehension of others who attempted to escape into the city.

3. During the night the mutinous body evacuated the Paga, and retreated towards the Phonda Ghat. Three young officers who have fled in the same direction in the confusion following the outbreak were overtaken by the mutineers at the village of Solunkoor and barbarously murdered.

4. On the morning of the 3rd August a re-inforcement of the Southern Maratha Horse under the command of Lieutt. Kerr arrived from Satara ; a troop of Horse artillery had also been despatched from Poona on intelligence of the outbreak having been received there, and two companies of a wing of the 2nd European Regiment, then under orders to embark for Belgaum, were detached and landed with two guns at Wagotna, in the Concan. The arrangements adopted in guarding the approaches to the Concan were effectual in checking the progress of the mutineers in this direction. They descended by a circuitous route into the lowlands, but were compelled to retrace their steps. A portion sought refuge in the jungles and the remainder about 26 in number returned under cover of the night to their former position in the Paga. This position is described as being a looped wall enclosure with towers at the angles, one of which commanded a narrow street, leading to the Paga. The place was attacked at day-light by a Detachment of the Southern Maratha Horse, a party of volunteers of the 27th Regiment. N. I. supported by the Raja's Golandauze. The mutineers made a determined resistance and it was not until late in the afternoon that sufficient impression was made to warrant an assault. The partially injured doors of the Paga were charged and destroyed, and after some obstinate fighting the mutineers were overpowered, several having been killed and the remainder captured. The ultimate success of the attack was mainly due to the energy and judgment of Lieut. Kerr of the S. M. Horse who led the storming party, and distinguished himself conspicuously throughout the day. It is not known.....that the operations from the adventure of the Paga were well planned. But it is only just to explain that the Raja's guns were found to be honey combed and perfectly useless.

5. At the outset of these events this Government was induced to appoint Colonel Le Grand Jacob the Political Agent in Kutch in consideration of his great political experience in the Southern Maratha Country, special Commissioner with the commands of troops in Kolhapoor and Sawantwaree. On the arrival of European reinforcements that officer at once proceeded with the trials of the mutineers, about 120 of whom had been captured. At the same time Colonel Jacob resolved on disarming the 27th Regiment, whose

conduct generally throughout the mutiny was such as to justify the measure, which was carried out without resistance at a public parade on the 18th August last. The trials of the mutineers not yet terminated. Thirty one of them have been executed, being chiefly those who were concerned in the murder of the officers above named.

6. On the occasion of the mutiny at Kolhapoor a general panic seized the European inhabitants of Ratnagirry where a Detachment of the 27th Regiment N. I. (250 strong) was stationed. The Detachment had exhibited on several occasions an insubordinate spirit. It was therefore found necessary to remove the European families to Bombay. A party of European troops was at the same time despatched to Ratnagherry and on its arrival there, the Detachment was disarmed and is now doing duty without arms.

7. Previously to the outbreak at Kolhapoor, the position of affairs at Belgaum was such as to render it expedient to add to the garrison of that station, an European force however small. A wing of the 2nd European Regiment was accordingly under orders to proceed to Belgaum, but as already stated, two companies of the Regiment were detached to meet the emergency at Kolhapur. As the South West monsoon was at this period at its height it was found necessary to seek the co-operation of H. E. the Governor of Goa in effecting the passage of the Detachment for Belgaum through the Portuguese territory, and the valuable assistance afforded by His Excellency on the occasion elecited the cordial acknowledgements of this Government. The arrival of the Detachment at Belgaum contributed materially to the restoration of confidence at that place, and enabled the authorities to arrest the powerful Agents in a conspiracy in which a native officer and some private soldiers of the 29th Regiment N. I. were implicated. Three parties have since been brought to trial, three have been executed by being blown from guns, and two others transported for life.

8. During the course of these events considerable apprehensions were entertained for the safety of Dharwar and Sawantwaree, but by throwing in Detachments of Europeans into those places the disaffected have been overawed and perfect tranquillity has been preserved.

9. In reporting the foregoing circumstances I am directed to observe that in no case has the population or native chiefs of the Southern Maratha Country evinced any sympathy with the mutinous spirit which has unhappily pervaded a portion of the

native troops in this quarter. On the contrary it will be satisfactory to the Government of India to hear that where co-operation was needed it was promptly afforded by the Raja of Kolhapoor, whose troops took so important a share in the attack on the mutineers at that place.

10. In conclusion I am directed to forward, for submission to the Government of India, copies of the correspondence noted in the margin connected with the subject of the present Report :—

1. Letter from Collector I. Maughan, Political Superintendent Kolhapur, No. 632, dated the 3rd August 1857.
2. Do. do., dated the 8th idem.
3. Demi official letter, with enclosure, from the Collector of Belgaum, dated the 27th July 1857.
4. From the magistrate of Ratnagherry, dated the 3rd August, 1857.
5. From Major Auld, Poll, Supt. Sawantwaree, dated the 3rd August 1857.

Signature (Illegible),

5th September, 1857.

SOME DEPOSITIONS

P. D. Vol. 31 of 1857 (Pages 157 to 161)

Summary of statement made by Tanoobai Goonajee Jegtap oorf Sellar, a private in the 27th Regiment N. I. company 7th before the Police Foujdar of Talooka Ratnagiri on 14th August, 1857 :—

"It so happened that while I was attending the reading of a Pothee, I heard a musket fired in the lines about 10 p.m. of the 31st July."

"After this about 150 sipahis of the Regiment plundered the ammunition. Afterwards about 2 a.m. a party of the Resallas came and fire was opened by them on our Sipahis, but none fell. About 125 of our Siphais, then i.e. about 5 a.m. went towards the Raja. But the Raja did not open the doors and permit their entrance. Some of the Sipahis then entered the temple of Radha Crishna, a force of the irregulars attacked them and a fight took place, but I do not know who was shot. I ran away about 4 a.m. on 1st August. About 30 sipahis were assembled on the Rajah's bridge, among them was Rambuks who gave me two handfuls of Rupees..... The rupees

given me amounted to 99 which together with Rs. 137-6-0 saved out of my salary are now with me. To save our lives about 60 men of us with the intention of proceeding to the Goa territory entered the Koncan ..... Subsequently 32 purdesees and 11 Marathas went back by the Phonda Ghat.

Question.—All of you came down. What was the cause then of going back by the Phonda Ghat ?

Answer.—Considering that they would have to remain in custody at Goa they returned."

II

(Pages 163 to 170).

Deposition of Ramjee Bin Uttoji Naik — on 14th August 1857. Substance same as above.

III

(Pages 171 to 174).

Deposition of Govind Bin Khemajee Wabhilkar tells how four muskets were buried under a Mango tree.

IV

(Page 175).

Deposition of Govind's brother Yesoo. Same substance as above.

V

(Pages 177 to 183)

Deposition of Baboo oorf Babli bin Savjee Malkar about the burying of the 4 muskets.

VI

(Pages 185 to 191)

Extract from the Deposition of Mahabeer Misser of the Grendier Company of the 27th Regiment Native Infantry.

"On the evening of the 31st July Private Rawjee Shirsat came to my hut and asked me to help him in seizing magazine as the Marathas and Purdesees were about to rise and go to the European officers' lines to murder them. We said that all would make off to Goa and the Concan. Private Ramcharn of the 5th company was the head of the Paradesees. After looting the Treasury and Magazine at 8 or 9 o'clock on the night of the 31st July about 40 of us made off to the Paga outside the town. There were 20 pardesees and 20 Maratas. We remained in the town all the next day and then made off towards the ghauts. We arrived near a village by a river and were informed by a Mahar who showed us the road that some officers had taken refuge in the same village. I do not know its name. Ramjee Shirsat and Ramjee Jadhav privates of the Light Company and Ramcharan proposed that the officers should be killed. They went to Chowree and shot two of them and third Lieut. Morris made off for the river. Ramjee Jadhav, Ramjee Shirsat and others followed him up and shot him. The bodies of three officers were thrown into the river. We then went off to the Ghauts and descended to a village whose name I do not remember. We remained there 4 days and not obtaining anything to eat 15 in number returned to Kolhapur."

VII

(Page 189)

Extract from statement of Sacroobin Ramji Patil of Soulankoor:—

"On Sunday the 2nd August, 1857, three European officers came to the village of Soulankoor and put up at the Dharmashala. They arrived at 1 p.m. They asked for something to eat and I gave them some native bread. I also gave them water to drink out of my Lota. In the meantime some mutineers arrived and they fired at the officers who were not then struck. Two of them made off to the temple 20 paces distant from the Dharmashala and the third ran out of the village to the Nursoba well. The greater body of the mutineers went to the temple and shot the two officers and about 10 of them followed the third officer and shot him down also. They carried off the bodies to the river about 400 yards distant and threw them in the water.....The officers had a double barelled gun with them which was not fired. It was carried off by the mutineers.

IX

(Page 190)

Statement of Sumbo bin Krishnaji Patel of Solunkar gives the information of the murder of the three European officers. Similar to above statement.

A SEDITIOUS LETTER

P. D. Vol. 24 of 1858 (Pages 299 to 301)

Translation of a letter from Moonshee Mahomad Huoosein, Belgaum, to or through Subedar Abdul Reheman, 27th Regiment N. J. :—

To

My friends H. H. The Moulvi Sahib, Greetings. Be it known to you that praised be God, several people of rank and consideration have arrived at one determination and are ready. We are all of the name suited to the present period according to the tenor of the letter which has already been sent to you by the messengers. Further more, one of our party the Fuqueer Sahib has been prohibited from visiting the camp owing to some information supplied by a traitor; but your servant (the writer) will be able to effect the removal of the prohibition for which he will doubtless be worthy of a throne. In short your servant (the writer) is agreed with several companions, and the regiments are all ready. They will suddenly make a night attack on the fort and seize it. You do the same there also. The inhabitants of the city (of Shapoor or Belgaum ?) have also joined after much persuasion. They are all disturbed and agitated and are looking out for cry of "Din". God permitting, they are first of all to cut the telegram wire and take possession of the magazine and treasure outside the fort.

This is the state of affairs here. Write in the usual manner and send by quick Dag (Messenger?), what you have decided on. Let there be no delay. We are all ready here. This is the opportunity for us because it will be difficult to create a rebellion when confusion reigns all around. There is again no European regiment and Christians themselves are few in number here. And when your servant (writer) goes out to give lessons to them (in Hindustani), it is apparent to him from their manners and behaviours

that they are in a state of alarm; and they know that there should be no outbreak here, that even then they can scarcely hope to escape or be saved.

You are probably aware of the state of affairs at Satara and Poona. H. H. the Monshi Deen, Maulvi Sahib is anxiously looking out although the Europeans here sometimes suspect mischieves, your servant (the writer) deceives them, and removes all suspicion. Mohideen Beg Inamdar and Bhoodie Panday of the Chikodi Taluka are both worthy of confidence and are watching events and ready with five or seven hundred men. The Jambotee Desai has also been gained over by the preacher of that place and is ready with an army also. The intelligent Jagheerdars of this city whose ancestors obtained Inams in perpetuity through their glorious deeds in the reigns of the Badshahs have been induced through the Rissaldar Sahib to collect a thousand sepoys each. The Moulvi-sahib has written a letter to Rajah Balvantrao. I have sent its answer by the same man (an emmissary ?) together with an account of affairs here. You also wrote that the Khansahib has written from Rajpoor, but I do not understand the meaning of that. I also sent to you letters which had been received from Madras. I have not heard whether they have reached you and I am anxious on this account. Tell me also quickly what intelligence you have received from this direction. This is no time for delay. Now you know every thing. The Raja of Shorapur is also ready with his army. May God have you in His keeping.

No date. Signed by Mohomad Hussein and Muzur Alle, Moonshee.

The preceding letter was enclosed in a cover having the following address in Hindustani:—

Address:

"By the favour (of God) let this letter reach H. H. The Moulvi-sahib in Kolhapur through Subedar Abdul Reheman 27th Regiment, Belgaum. Post mark is dated: July 1857 and the Kolhapur post mark is dated July 1857.

True Translations.

Kolhapur, 16th September, 1857. (Signed) J. W. Schurider.

SECRET LETTER FROM KOLHAPUR

P. D. Vol. 27 of 1857 (Page 277)

Translation of a Marathi letter from Kolhapur addressed to Ganesh Babajee Bapat Pandit, in the lines of the 10th Regiment N. I. :—

"May Shree Gajanan and Shree Mahalaxmi be favourable."

After compliments. Further I am quite well at Kolhapur up to the 21st September, 1857. I have received the letters sent by you and understood the contents thereof. I did not write to you as it was not convenient to send letters. This letter also you should not show to any one but should destroy it after perusal. As written by you I have rupees (50) fifty by me and I have not yet received my pay for two months. For the last ten months my pay was at the rate of Rupees 20 P.M. I have to receive payment for two months of this period. I do not know when I shall get it. Since the month of July my pay is at the rate of Rs. 10 P.M. When I see you I shall explain the reason of this to you. I can obtain leave. Let me know whether I should take it after the Dussera or when. Accordingly I shall obtain leave and go to you. What I stated in my first letter was in consequence of the many people who used to come (to me) then. But I do not know what is predestained for me. I shall explain this when I see you. I beg you will let me know whether I should remit the money by a Hundee or whether I should take it with me when I go to you. Do not show this letter to anyone. I address this because you stated (in your last letter) that you would not write to me unless you received a reply to it. I have suffered a loss of about Rs. 100. I have suffered it in consequence of the desertion. I leave it to you to make out from this what I mean. If you cannot make it out I shall explain it when I see you. You will know all the other particulars when we meet. I have received no news even from home. If you have received let me know it. I shall buy a Hoondee on receipt of a reply to this. Do not show this letter to anyone. If you have any letters from me, search them out and destroy them. Let this be known. What more need be written? Continue to be kind. This is the prayer. I leave it to you to make out the meaning of this letter from the way in which it has been written. I have not written it explicitly. My blessings to Lukhoo Kherekar Jamadar and Gopal Jadhav, who will learn everything from what I have written above."

REWARD FOR SHIRSAT'S APPREHENSION

P. D. Vol. 27 of 1857 (Page 576)

Summary of Colonel Jacob's letter dated Kolhapur 25th September, 1857 to H. L. Anderson :—

Private Ramjee Sersat of the 27th regiment was the ostensible leader in the mutineer's outbreak on 31st July. He was foremost in turning out the men, in the attacks on Major Rolland's house, in the plunder of the treasure and the stores and the murder of the officers at Solankur. He was too dangerous to be at large. Colonel Jacob had therefore requested the Political Superintendents of Kolhapur and Sawantwaree to offer a reward of three hundred rupees for his apprehension.

LETTER SENT TO KOLHAPUR MAHARAJA

P. D. Vol. 30 of 1857 (Page 47)

Translation of a Marathi letter addressed to Shrimant Sirkar Saheb Maharaj, Samasthan Kurweer :—

"To Shreemant Sirkar Saheb Maharaj Samsthan Kurweer."

On the 13th of September 1857 I am well at Bithoor. When the Camp at Kolhapoor mutinied, you did not do anything, but now you should arrange so that there will be another mutiny. You are a great man, lay this to heart. We are here with our heads in our hands. There have been five or ten battles, but hitherto no one has stood so as to give assistance. A portion of the army of the Scindia Government has joined us. (Baija) Baee is favourable to us. Never mind, God is great and will prosper us. Do as much as possible and nothing less. The English are without good faith and there is no truth in them. If any Cutcherry people conceal this note, I impose the oath of Cows and Brahmins on them. This note is to be given into the hands of the Maharaja. (Marathi date corresponding to the 13th of September 1857).

(Signed) Jagganath Wassudev Taythey. (Thatte).

Bethoor.

"This letter was received by the minister in his Cutcharry from the Post office peon. The minister appears to have at once, on perusal of its contents, sent the letter and peon, in charge of the Nazer to me, with an intimation that he was quite ignorant of the writer."

(From Police Superintendent Kolhapur's letter to H. L. Anderson dated 22nd October 1857).

KOLHAPUR RAJA NOT A PARTY TO THE PLOT

P. D. Vol. 24 of 1858 (Page 311)

Extracts from letter No. 4 dated Satara, 9th January 1858 from I. N. Rose, Magistrate of Satara to H. L. Anderson Esquire, Secretary to Government of Bombay :—

2. "In reply I have to remark that from no allusion being made in the letter to previous agreement or Correspondence, and from the threat directed against any officer who might withhold the letters from the Raja, it would appear that there had been no previous concert between the author of the letter and the Kolhapur Durbar.

3. I am unable to offer any suggestion which might lead to the detection of the writer of the letter."

RAMJEE SHIRSAT SHOT DEAD

P. D. Vol. 31 of 1857 (Page 13)

Letter No. 809 of 1857 dated 7th November 1857 by Major Auld to the Secretary, Government of Bombay, gives the news that :—

"Yesterday Private Ramjee Sheersat, the Ring leader in the mutiny in the 27th Regiment N. I. was shot in his second attempt to make his escape, by a sepoy of the Sawantwaree local Corps in the jungle of Pauns in the Koodal Division of the Sawantwari State."

NEWSPAPERS SPREAD ALARM

Pages 597 to 601

Extracts from letter No. 216 of 1857 dated Kolhapur 21st November 1857 by Le Grand Jacob to Lient. Colonel Pelby, Assistant Adjutant General, Belgaum :—

2. "Three villages in the Chikoree District adjoining this state were named as places of rendezvous for an attack on Kolhapur."

3. "The Elder Raja though ill at the time felt himself called on to wait on the Political Superintendent to acquaint him with the impression that existed of an intention to make a night attack, though he could not trace it to its source."

4. "There is throughout the country a general feeling of dislike to English rule and that any great reverse would bring this into active operation. Under these circumstances the exaggerated reports of the Native newspapers do much mischief as feeding the hope that sooner or later the time will come for a successful rising."

5. "The only two papers I have seen are The Vartman Deepika of the 14th instant and the Vrittasar of the 16th instant".

6. "Both these are Mahratta papers published in Bombay, but they and others circulate here and tend to keep up the belief that Nana Sahib will shortly come as promised with a large army for the restoration of the Hindoo Raj."

THE COUNTRY IS IN A VERY UNEASY STATE

P. D. Vol. 32 of 1857, (Page 451)

Telegram dated 11th December 1857 from Colonel Jacob, Kolhapur to Secretary Anderson, Bombay :—

"Information from several quarters shows that Sunday's blow prevented a general outbreak as there were gatherings all round to co-operate. They are said to have dispersed, for the moment disheartened but I cannot say if it be true. The Police of the country is most defective if not worse and there is no vigour in

the administration. I am unable to strike here and there simultaneously. There are no reliefs to give men due rest. More troops should certainly be sent quickly. The country is in a very uneasy state."

MUTINEERS PRESERVE THE SECRET

P. D. Vol. 24 of 1858 (Pages 287 to 290)

Extracts from letter No. 48 dated 28th January 1858 from Colonel Le Grand Jacob, Commanding troops Kolhapur, to the Adjutant General of the army, Bombay :—

2. "I had hoped that the progress of my inquiry in the Civil and Military branches would have thrown light on the mutiny, but the tenacity with which rebels and Mutineers have preserved their secret has defeated this expectation."

3. "One native officer is named as the Channel of Communication between the Regiment and the Minor Rajah previous to the Mutiny, but no one himself giving evidence has personal knowledge of this, he was merely told by others who have carried their secrets with them to the grave, or who living retain them and being unable to secure any confirmation of this hearsay evidence, I have left the man untouched."

5. "It is impossible to read the enclosure viz., translate of a letter written by the Belgaum Traitor to, or through, the Subedar Abdool Rehman without feeling certain that he must also be a Traitor. No one would thus trust to one who was not, secrets fatal to himself and to this cause."

TWO MUTINEERS EXECUTED

P. D. Vol. 24 of 1858 (Page 241)

In his letter No. 111 of 1858 dated 12th Colonel Le. Grand Jacob informed the Adjutant General of the army at Bombay, that the two native officers Subedar Sen Deen Sing and Subedar Daood Beg were found guilty on the 10th March, the first named of concealing knowledge of Mutiny, the second of Mutiny in addition, and being

condemned to death. Their punishment was carried out yesterday, by being blown from guns, in presence of all the troops at the station off duty.

THREE REVEALING DEPOSITIONS

(Pages 245 to 258)

I

Substance of deposition of Govind Dalvi bin Bhau Dalvi, private, first company, 27th regiment of N. I. : —

Four or five months before a Mutiny broke out in the 27th regiment, about twelve officers and privates went to Poona to learn the new drill. One of them a Pardesee of the light company wrote a letter to Subedar Sen Deen of the fourth Company saying that the new greased cartridges had been served out to them and that as they had used them, what was the result as to their caste. Subedar Sen Deen made all in the lines acquainted with this letter, whereupon all became distressed, some made up their minds to refuse these cartridges, others said that to loose caste and be killed were the same things whereupon it behoved them to make some arrangements beforehand.

Subedar Sen Deen fourth company, and Subedar Imamkhan of the grenedier company, private Ram Sirshat Gr. Co., Mahadeo Chavan, Sabaji Pawar, Babaji Thakur and Havildar Shiva Mukund Sawant used to meet at Subedar Daood Beg's house and held consultations. Shiva Mukund Sawant's sister lived in the town of Kolhapur and he used frequently to go to and fro, and a Maratha from the town who rode a white horse used to visit sometimes Shiva Mukund Sawant in the lines and sometimes Subedar Daood Beg's and Subedar Sen Deen's house. Shiva Mukund on returning from Kolhapur would visit Daood Beg's house and say that he had had interview with the younger Raja's Karbharee who had expressed his approval of an outbreak and readiness to join. The Maratha who visited the lines used to speak in the same fashion. One day Subedar Sen Deen said in my hearing to Havildar Shiva Mukund, that he was to bring the paper from the Maharaja assuring to cherish and take care of the regiment. All the persons used to consult each other as to their joining in the Mutiny. Daood Beg used to send letters to Belgaum and letters used to come

to him from that place. I heard Daood Beg say that the Belgaum regiments were ready and that letters have reached to that effect.

A month or so before Mutiny the men of the regiment used to say that new cartridges would be issued on the 10th August 1857. It was determined that come what might the Mutiny should take place on that day. Some days after this I was on watch duty on the fourth company's lines at half past nine o'clock. Many parties assembled in the centre street of the lines and three shots were fired. They called upon people to come out or they would be killed. When I heard the shots, I took my family and ran off to the old Cantonment. I remained there till day light and then made off to Walva. There I met some privates who informed me that the men of the Regiment had risen and had gone to the European officers' lines, but they had met nobody, as they had all run away. They also said that the stores had been broken open, the treasure looted and that the men had gone off in various directions.

Ramji Shirsat told that men and officers had gone to the European officers' houses to kill them and finding they had run away, they returned to the stores and broke them open as well as the Treasure. They made off subsequently to the town, but not gaining admittance, they went to the temple of Krishna.

The Gamkhata Regiment came next day and they exchanged shots. On the Gamkhata retiring the party left and made off via Phonda to Naflee. They met three European officers on the road, of whom Ramji Shirsat killed one, the Bay Chokra the second, and a sepoy the third.

II

Summary of deposition of Private Babli Purub oorf Bhao Sudashiv Taola, of 27th Regiment N. I. (Pages 261 to 284).

This deposition corroborates most of the narration made by Govind Dalvi. Babli Purub, however, gives more details about the Maratha horseman and the Brahmin Diwan of the younger Raja of Kolhapur. The following are pertinent extracts giving the details :—

" A Maratha Sardar used to visit the lines every 2 or 4 days from the town and generally went to Subedar Sen Deen's house, some times he went to Havaldar Samant's. This Surdar used to tell Sen Deen that the Subedar on his side was ready to join or assist and

that they should do their best. That his Sirkar should open the fort to them. I have heard him say so 2 or 4 times. I don't know his name but he is of middling stature, complexion neither fair nor dark (Neemgora), broad faced (Pusurut). Sometimes he came mounted on a white horse and sometimes on a red one. Sewa Sawant used frequently to visit the town and on returning thence to say that all the Kolhapoor was ready. That he had arranged matters with the younger Raja's Karbhari, who had said that the Prince had expressed his approbation and oneness with the feelings of the Regiment."

"A guard was furnished by the Regiment to the fort, sometimes a Subedar, sometimes a Jemadar, used to mount. One day it was Subedar Sen Deen's turn. I was also on this duty. About 11 o'clock on the day the Younger Raja's Karbhari, a Brahmin, came to the officer's quarter in the guard where there is a room for him to sleep and a chair and table are kept for him. In this room the Brahmin and Sen Deen conversed apart for an hour. No one of the guard was called in. They spoke in a low tone of voice and none of us who were outside heard what was said."

The deposition then states how a Naik's party went to Belgaum and how on return Babajee Thakur brought a letter from the Subedar of the 4th or the 5th Company for Daood Beg who showed it to Subedar Sen Deen, Jemadar Sachan and Bapu Shinde. "This letter was to the effect that the matter was one of caste and they would join in anything we did and to acquaint them with the arrangements contemplated that they might act together."

The rest of the statements gives details of the mutiny including the looting of the storeroom and the march towards the bunglows of the European officers.

III

(Pages 121-135, P. D. Volume 26 of 1858)

Deposition of Havildar Sewa Mookoond Sawant of the 6" Compy/ S. N. 2361/27th Regiment N. I./12th March 1858 :—

"Last year shortly after Shimga (the Holi) some of our men both from Kolhapur and the Ratnagirie Detachment went to Poona to the School of the Musketry."....

"About a month and a half after their departure letters were

received and it was stated therein that greased cartridges had arrived which had been served to those at the school of Musketry."

"From this time parties of the Regiment used to assemble and say that the Surkar intended to destroy the Hindoo and Mohmedan castes by serving out to all greased cartridges. Generally speaking the Purdeshees and Mussalmans used to say that owing to the greased cartridges these two castes had mutinied in Hindoostan and had taken the country from the English Government. They also said that Baija Baee Scindia had turned against the government and that she was coming to Kolhapoor. This was the general topic of conversation. One Havildar said that an European officer of a Bengal Regiment had called for a Subedar of the corps and had announced that new greased cartridges were going to be served out to which the Subedar had replied that nobody would use such cartridges. The native officer, the Havildar said, had been hanged by sentence of court Martial as the European officer said, it was through his "Fitoor" that such cartridges would not be used and that on this account the Bengal regiments had mutinied. He also remarked that many European officers had been killed, others had run away and that Delhi itself had been captured. Havildar Shaikh replied that 2 boxes of such cartridges had arrived and that they had been deposited in the commissariat office : that it was intended to distribute them next month. At this juncture Jamadar Bapoo Sindia arrived. Subedar Emam Khan said that greased cartridges had arrived and that they would be issued on the 10th of next month, that caste would be destroyed and he asked what 'tujweej' he had made. Bapoo Sindia said he would see what should be done, that a petition should be proferred the day before on the subject that if not favourably received they should act as should be agreed on. Havildar Balvant Sing addressed to Subedar Emam Khan "what spirit have these Marathas, they will do nothing!" Emam Khan replied that no body wanted to destroy their religion ; that they would petition about the Cartridges and do as they had done in Bengal, if unfavourably answered. Bapoo Scindia said "true" and that he would do as they did. I asked Subedar Emam Khan what would be done if any one reported what was being talked of. Subedar Emam Khan said, "who will report: any one who does so, will die." Havildar and myself then left and went to our companies. That evening after the Evening Roll call, I asked Subedar Hujarie Sing of my company what this was in the lines they were talking of greased cartridges. He said, have you not heard what is going on in Bengal? What doubt is there that new cartridges are going to be served out, that everybody

knew it. The whole regiment said they would mutiny on the 10th August when the new cartridges were served out as they had done in Bengal. This was the general talk in the lines about three or four days before the outbreak at 8 a.m. Subedar Daood Beg told Havildar that greased cartridges were also going to be served out at Belgaum and Satara and that they were also ready there to mutiny..... I can't say how it came to pass that the mutiny broke out before the appointed hour. On the evening of the Mutiny I went to the house of Luxman private pay orderly of 7th company to hear "Potee". Some 20 or 25 men were there. About 9½ p.m. Ramji Sirshat and some Purdeshees and Marathas assembled and came to the pay orderly's house and told him to come out accoutred and armed for roll call. I thought there was truth in this and I got out of the house and went home. In the meantime I heard firing in the lines and a great confusion. I expected a bugle would sound but it did not. I was seated at home when privates Vitoo Tomokur and Ghatkar of my company arrived. We three remained in my house, Mutineers arrived and commenced abusing and pulling out those they could lay hands on. They also asked where the 2nd guard and the Sahib logs had run to ?....."

"When the greased cartridges were being talked of in the lines a Mahratta used to visit the lines from Kolhapoor and he used generally to visit Jamadars Baijnath and Sakhoo Coonbee. He is called Nimbalkar but I can't remember his name. He has a "wada" close to where the Regiment furnished a guard in the city. He used also to go to Jamadar Bapoo Sindia's house—I have seen another Mahratta in the lines but I can't say what his name is now...

14th March 1858

"I now recollect it was Rao Sahib Nimbalkar who used to visit the lines. He used to ride a white horse and occasionally a chestnut Tatoo. He generally went to Jamadar Bapoo Sindia's house and they used to talk a good deal together. I have seen him at Jamadar Luxman Coonbee's house also at Subedar Sen Deen's house. One day when the cartridge question was being discussed, I accompanied Bapoo Sindia to Kolhapoor. I went with them (Bapoo Sindia and Nimbalkar) to an upper room, above the guard in the city. Bapoo Sindia said that greased cartridges had arrived every where as well as for the Regiment here, that government was about to issue the cartridges here and destroy caste. Bapoo Sindia observed that without the assistance and countenance of some great man, matters would not go on smothly. Nimbalkar asked what "tujweej" had been made. Bapoo Sindia said that all the Regiment were agreed and that they

and the Belgaum Regiments were agreed and that the countenance of a great man of influence was necessary—Rao Sahib said, he would give assistance if all were agreed and that he would make "tujweej". Bapoo left and he and Jamadar Luxman Coonbee went occasionally to see Ambabaee..... Bapoo Sindia Jamadar used to send messages to Chima Sahib through Rao Sahib Nimbalkar who conveyed them to Chima Sahib through the Phudnis, his Karbhari. Bapoo Sindia told me that the Nimbalkar had told him that Chima was favourable to this cause. Once or twice when I went to Kolhapoor on Business, Bapoo Sindia told me to go and see Rao Sahib Nimbalkar; who used to tell me that everything was arranged here as he had told the Jamadar. Nimbalkar used to say that he had obtained chima Sahib's countenance through the Phudnis. ..... The name of the other Maratha who used to visit the lines is Atmaram Bhoslay : he used to go to Bapoo Sindia's as well as to Subedar Daood Beg's house. Atmaram used to say that everybody was ready and that at Punalla and Virgaum people were also ready. Atmaram said that we were to do what we were going to do and that immediately he would come with his people to our assistance. Can't say whether this Atmaram is in the Risalah or otherwise. He used to smoke opium when at Daood Beg's..... Nimbalkar and Bapoo Sindia used to agree that when the new cartridges were served out, they should be refused and that they should Mutiny just as they had done in Bengal, that the Regiment should capture the fort and that the Maharaj should admit them into the fort. Nimbalkar used to tell this to Bapoo Sindia and Laxman Coonbee. Nimbalkar is about 40 years age, middling size, slightly grey. Atmaram Bhoslay used to say the Maharaj was agreed. Havildar Oodwut Sing used to recommend the Regiment to kill all the Europeans as this was done in Bengal. I heard from Rao Sahib Nimbalkar and Atmaram that the Dhakta (younger) Maharaj was agreed in what was to take place. Tatia Mohitay is a resident of Kolhapoor and used to come and see Sahajee Pawar ..... It was agreed to Mutiny on 10th August. The Regiment was not fully agreed to Mutiny on the 31st July last : therefore some remained—those who had not heard the mutiny was to break out.....Oodwat Sing and Chand Khan said that greased Cartridges (2 bags) had come with camels. Private Ganoo Sawant, Subedar Sheik Boodim and Havildar Pandoo Purub once said that it was false about the Sirkar having brought cartridges as said to destroy caste. The purdesees who were there asked what they knew on the subject, as they had been served out to all the Hindoostan Regiments, who had mutinied and taken Hindoostan. The Subedar Daood Beg, Sen Deen, Emamkhan and Jamadar Luxman and Havildar Oodwut Sing and Chand Khan

used to talk of the certainty of greased cartridges being served out, so everyone replied them. Everyone in Regiment knew that the Mutiny was to break out on the 10th of August .....

Bapoo Sindia and Nimbalkar said the Regiment would be admitted into the fort. I can't explain how it came to pass that they were refused admittance, when the mutiny broke out. ....."

3rd March 1858

"I now recognize Tatia Mohitay/brought for that purpose/as the party who used to visit the lines of 27th Regiment before the Mutiny."

8th April 1858

"About last Holie/afterwards/a party arrived with Treasure from Belgaum. I can't exactly recollect what the Regiment was, to which the party belonged, the 29th Regiment I think. There was a native officer Daood Beg said, the commanding officer was a subedar. The party encamped opposite Daood Beg's house in tents. Daood Beg gave a dinner to the party. It was not raining when the party arrived. After the party returned to Belgaum Private Babajee Thakoor went with this party. On his return, he told me and others that he had remained 2 days in 29" lines; that the Regiment was very sorrowful as the greased cartridges had also arrived there; Babajee Thakoor also said; Subedar of the 29" had given him a letter for delivery to Daood Beg which he had made over to the party. I can't say whether the party escorted prisoners or cattles to Belgaum. Babajee Jadhaw used to say, he had been to Dharwar and thence to Belgaum. On his return can't say who was the Naik of the party. I think this party came after the Holie (the Belgaum treasure party). No other party except this one came to Kolhapoor, from Belgaum before the Mutiny."

COLONEL JACOB ANALYSES THE BACKGROUND OF THE MUTINY

Secret Department. Date : Kolhapur 21st March 1858.

(P. D. Volume 24—1858, Pages 185-197)

From

COLONEL LE. GRAND JACOB,
Special Commissioner.

To

H. L. HENDERSON, Esquire.

"Sir,

I have not sent you a report on the state of the districts under my surveillance for sometime; reserving such for special occasions, meanwhile depending on the military report I have from time to time made, and on the officer more immediately in political charge. The former will have shown the gradual development of the causes of the mutiny in the 27th Regiment and these may now be considered established, by the statements and confessions of men brought from all points of the....., who have had no opportunity of seeing each other since the outbreak; or who know not each other and who have given depositions in entire ignorance of what others have said.

2. As no fictitious account can thus have agreed in the main features of the case, I will briefly sum these up.....The issue of the greased cartridges at the school of Musketry, at Poona, was communicated by letter to the regiment, here as close to Ratnagiri. The report stated that they 27th men had beaten the new cartridges and begged to know what was the result on their caste, but that the men of the 6th had referred them..... .....reason for meeting in the regiment and deliberations, first agreeing to meet the threatned invasion of their caste with remonstrances, subsequently resolving to oppose it by force.

3. It is worthy of remark, that the part of the grease being that of bullocks and hogs and that this was purposely contrived for the destruction of caste seems to have been at once believed. It was thought part of the general plan for the destruction of the Hindu religion that has been for some years going on since the abolition..... the prohibition of sati and other Hindu rights.

4. The native officer alone for a time set himself against the delusion by maintaining that there was no such intention and that the new cartridges being greezed with unlawful material was all nonsense, but he too and the few who were on this side gradually gave way to the prevailing belief and when Subedar Major of the Corps was questioned about it, he said to have answered despairingly "you know it is destined that we should all become of one caste".

5. This fomentation was increased by the exaggerated report received from Hindustan. It was industriously given out by the Pardeshies of the Corps that the whole of the Bengal army had reason to maintain their faith, consequent on the issue to them of the cartridges that all the chiefs of the country from the chiefs of Delhi downward were joining them and that the English rule was at an end.

6. It was not only the Hindustanies that fanned the flame, provided with letters and appeals from their brethren but the intriguers of the country took advantage of the opening for their purpose ; accordingly we find interviews to have occurred between some of the Corps and the Gwalior Deputation before the outbreak (it arrived 8th and left 28th July last) and considerable intercourse existed between the native officer and the town, sometimes by emissaries in the name of the younger Raja visiting the lines and sometimes by interviews between them and influential men of the town, when sympathy was expressed and support promised.

7. There has been great difficulty in tracing the exact individuals referred to, but all point to men in confidence of the younger Raja and together with informations supplied me by Mr. Rose from Satara little doubt remains of this young chief, being a local centre of a widespread attempt to revolt and to turn to profit the mutinous disposition of the troops. Indeed in a conversation between Chimasahib (the familiar name of the younger Raja) and an emissary in Satara in June last, he is alleged to have told them " all is ready here. I have secured the support of the people and of many of the troops of Belgaum and Dharwar, and the rest will be gained over. The chiefs are favourable and it only remains for Satara to give the signal."

8. This subject is now undergoing Mr. Robertson's and my anxious attention. Had we any good news of securing the prince at Kolhapur, or did roads exist by which he and his attendants could be suddenly conveyed away, I should either have done the first or suggested by telegram the second. But the want of means and the difficulty of rapid transit have weighed with me in suspending action until I am favoured with the views of Government. Meanwhile making efforts to clear away the mist that shrouds the secret meetings of conspirators and renders it doubtful who some of them are.

9. I think it would be a wise measure to remove Chimasahib from Kolhapur and detain him at a distance as a ' State-Prisoner '.

As no overt act can be proved against him, I doubt the expediency of bringing him to trial before a commission. The trial must necessarily last some days. He is most popular in the country. Conspirators only are available as witnesses, sufficient proof might .....evidence might break down and if a trial be directed, a strong force should be on the spot to overawe the people. Yet after all the risk run preparatory and during trial, it is not probable that a fuller result would be arrived at, than what there is sufficient evidence already for coming to justify Government in doing, viz. expatriate him for the good of the province.

10. If this view is approved I will suggest opportunity being taken of the expected return of the third Dragoon General Squadron from Belgaum to send him to Poona under their escort. I will shortly send you a summary of the evidence against him. I am endeavouring to trace the handwriting of a letter purporting to have been written for him which forms an important link in the case ; and Mr. Rose will, I hope, be directed to suspend any sentence that may probably be passed on the conspirators, Nataji Bhosale, Balantrao Potnis, and Keshav Vinayak Kibe, without whose evidence nothing can be done.

11. If measures suggested be taken it may be worthy the consideration of Government whether its irritating effects on the province be neutralised by notice of the good conduct of the elder brother. No one has attributed to him any part of the disturbances and it might be politic to show that Government were as ready to reward as to punish.

12. Correspondence regarding these cartridges appears to have been carried on between the 27th N. I. N. and the 29th Regiment at Belgaum, and native officer of the latter Corps, who is said to have come here, in command of a treasure party, about a fortnight before the outbreak, is mentioned as the channel of communication. It was understood in the regiment that the troops in Belgaum were nearly ready to rise in support of the common Corps.

17. It may be gathered from the informations I now receive from all quarters, that the rise of the country was to have taken place, on the 10th August, on which day it was given out the obnoxious cartridges were to be issued in the division. The premature outbreak was brought on by the fear of some of the most impetuous of the mutineers, that their plot would be revealed by the native adjutant. The Belgaum conspirators about the time of Mutiny have sent an express to Kolhapur (so Mr. Seton Karr

informs me) to urge delay, perhaps suspecting what was about to happen. The signal from Satara had not come ; the civil conspirators hesitated to pass the rebellion by opening the gates. Many shrunk back when the abyss of treason yawned beneath their face, others waited signal from without and so the country was saved from a general convulsion.

I have the honour to be

Le. GRAND JACOB,
Special Commissioner.

NO PROSECUTION OF CHIMA SAHEB

P. D. Volume 24-1858

(Page 199)

Extract from a minute on Le. Grand Jacob's letter No. 118, dated 21st March 1858, page 185 :—

"It would be clearly inexpedient to bring Chima Saheb to trial. In the first place it is probable that sufficient evidence could not be produced to obtain a conviction. In the next place, even if he was convicted, his execution might do more harm than good. It would be both humiliating and distressing to his elder brother, the Rajah of Kolhapur, who has remained faithful to us and the fate of a young and popular prince, the descendant of the great Shivaji, would excite more sympathy among the Marathas of all classes than it would strike terror among the disaffected.

I think that it would be much better to remove Chima Saheb from Kolhapur and detain him as a state prisoner, as recommended by Colonel Jacob. If this is to be done, the sooner the measure is carried into effect, the better."

POONA SCHOOL OF MUSKETRY—A MUTINY CENTRE

(Page 118, P. D. Volume 26 of 1858)

Letter No. 146 of 1858 from Colonel Le. Grand Jacob, Special Commissioner, Kolhapoor, to H. L. Anderson, Secretary to Government, Bombay.

Secret Department. dated 23rd April 1858.

"Sir,

I have the honour to submit translation of the deposition referred to at the close of the 7th paragraph of my letter No. 131, dated 1st instant. All statements made by this class of Natives as to dates of distant occurrances must be received with caution as they are unable to remember them and speak only vaguely.

2. I have ascertained from General Lester that the Treasure party of the 29th Regiment N. I. referred to left Belgaum 19th January, and returned to it 2nd February—the party of the 27th Regiment N. I. detailed from the Poona school of Musketry left on 12th February. Consequently, if that be the party of the 29th N. I. referred to by the several deponents, the cartridge question must have been discussed in the Regiment before the letters reached from Poona saying that the 27th men had used the new cartridges etc., etc.

3. It will probably be found that previous communications were made on the subject from Bengal through the Hindoostanees of the Regiment and that the supposed grievance gradually fermented worked on by designing men until it burst forth into open mutiny.

4. I should be glad if you could tell me the date when the new cartridges were first objected to in Bengal or when first issued, as it may assist me in tracing the connection.

5. The full development of the Regimental conspiracy is still undergoing my anxious attention. This Havildars' evidence will enable me to proceed with the trial of one of the civil conspirators employed in fomenting the mutiny."

BHAOSAHEB GHATGE

(Pages 91-101, P. D. Volume 33/1858)

Letter No. 243 of 1858 from Colonel Le. Grand Jacob, Political Commissioner, to H. L. Anderson, Esquire, Secretary to Government :—

Secret Department. Dated 20th July, 1858.

Sir,

The intrigues of this quarter from time to time bursting out into open hostility have been fed by correspondence and emissaries from Gwalior and the East—amongst them one Jotee Rao commonly called Bhao Saheb Ghatge (Descendant of the Malowndee family) was one of the early go betweens in June 1857 or thereabouts. He presented the younger Raja of Kolhapoor (Chima Sahib) with a silver handled sword with serrated blade, bearing on it gilt shiah inscriptions. At the same time a person deputed by Nana Sahib, of sufficient note to induce the Prince to go to a few miles out of town clandestinely and by night, to visit him was introduced by the said Ghatge. The sword was probably from Lucknow.

2. Bhaoo Sahib is, I understand, in some good position at Gwalior and it seems very desirable that he should be secured though he may perhaps have fallen or fled with the rebel army.

3. This man is dependent on the Ex-Regent (styled the Dewanjee or Dewansahib) of Kolhapoor, who is detained at Poona consequent on her intrigues in 1844-45 viz. Taee Baee Sahib : for convenience of reference I append her family tree.

Shiwajee

Aba Sahib died in 1821—married Taee Baee, daughter of Jeewun Rao Sirke, Regent on the death of Buwa Sahib in 1838 until expelled for the insurrection of 1884/45. She is now between 60 and 70 years old and receives a pension from the Kolhapoor State of Rs. 500 per mensem.	Bawa Sahib succeeded to his ½ brother Aba on his death in 1821 and died in 1838.
	Bawa Sahib Present Raja.
	Chima Sahib Now at Karachee.

4. Before branching off from this tree, I must add that Manajee Bapoo Sirke the Brother (by adoption) of the Dewanjee and therefore 1st cousin to Chima Saheb absconded after the unsuccessful rise of December 6th last and there are proofs of his concern therein.

5. Chima Sahib's share in a wide spread conspiracy as well as in the insurrection of December, is becoming daily more apparent and under the circumstances stated as Bhaoo Sahib Ghatge is in all

possibility a tool of his aunt (The Dewanjee at Poona). Government may deem it right to have this lady closely watched and I would beg even to suggest that her premises be searched for papers.

6. Of course the chances are against success as on the news reaching of her nephew's deportation—she will probably have imitated his example in destroying all suspicious documents. It has been lately proved that Chima Sahib and his Karbaree did this, during the rumours referred to in my letter No. 117, dated 23rd November last.

P. S.

It has now come to light that the Dewanjee was in habit of sending letters to her nephew (Chima Sahib) under cover to a confidential dependent and was in constant confidence with her brother, the above described Manajee Bapoo Sirke.

(Signed) Le. GRAND JACOB.

FUDNEES AND MOHITE RECEIVE TRANSPORTATION FOR LIFE

P. D. Volume 34 of 1858 (Pages 241 to 339)

Anna Fudnees, Karbhari and Tatia Mohite confidential attendants of His Highness Chimasaheb were tried in the Commissioner's Court on 26th July 1858. As the special Commissioner put it these two "display a series of intrigues, commencing so far back as September 1856, for the restoration of the Kolhapur Gadi, by fair means or by foul; first in connection with Satara Emissaries with like intent for their master, and afterwards widening into a general conspiracy with agents from the East, and in successful attempts to corrupt the fidelity of the Native Troops here. Both have been convicted on the clearest evidence and sentenced to transportation for life."

The proceedings of the trial cover pages 245 to 339 of P. D. Volume 34 of 1858.

BALWANTRAO NAIK NIMBALKAR

(Pages 247-248, P. D. Volume 33 of 1858)

Letter No. 270 from Special Commissioner, S.M.C. to H. L. Anderson, Esquire, Secretary to Government, Secret Dept.

Dated 1st August 1858. Kolhapur.

Sir,

I have the honour to state that a Mahratta Sirdar, named Bulwant Rao Naik Nimbalkar, Wuttankur, who owns villages both under Satara and Kolhapur was a conspicuous agent of sedition during the late troublous times. He was employed in corrupting the 27th Regiment N. I. and after satisfactory assurance of success, left for Gwalior, a few days before the Mutiny broke out.

2. He is understood to be residing in Gwalior and one letter from him sent through the Post office was intercepted about three months ago ; but except some very conspicuous language there was nothing treasonable in it.

3. I would beg to request that an effort shall be made to secure him, for he must be a dangerous man anywhere. I have evidence enough for his conviction of the offence named.

4. His 'oorf' name is Bala Sahib but he appears to have been called in the lines Rao Sahib, whether as a blind or not, is uncertain. His age is from 38 to 40 ; height rather above medium ; complexion medium-fair ; figure neither stout nor thin ; nose straight ; face marked with small pox ; eyes large ; wears hair not shaven at the sides.

5. The Political Superintendent has attached his two villages of Nej and Budawar yielding a revenue of Rs. 2627.

I have the honour to be
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) Le. GRAND JACOB.

A SEDITIOUS LETTER FROM POONA

P. D. Volume 24 of 1858 (Page 543)

Enclosure 1 to letter from Special Commissioner, Kolhapur, to Mr. Sec. Anderson, No. 131, dated 1st April 1858 :—

"The Husband of Luxmee be propitious".

To Rajeshree Dada Sahib Bhonsele at Kolhapoor, compliments and friendship from Bulwant Rao Babaji Bho.....at the city of Poona, the Sunwar Peth after salutation be it known to you, that here through your friendship all is well up to Chaitra Sood 7 (Monday 22nd March). According to the letters you sent everything here is ready, but there is great need of money. Nagga Ramchand Marwaree gives 25,000 Rupees. The Bhaee also gives 10,000. Altogether we are making arrangements for a lakh. The officers of the Pultuns here are on our side, with you alone rests the delay. Three lakhs must be raised. Efforts to gain over the Satara Regiment are going forward.....Our friend Bala Sathe who joined Nana Sahib has written to urge readiness and care and promised to send money for our expenses. Bhaoo Shroff has agreed to supply the lead for bullets. You should send an immediate answer. When once the thing breaks out, there will be no time for hunting up means, wherefore arrangements should promptly be made.....Here the Regiments are quite with us and have made oath to attack and carry Poona in four Ghutkas but what can be done without money.....we rely on you. Several of the Poona Society are with Nana Sahib and they keep up a continual correspondence, be this known to you.

The Baroda folk have given much secret intelligence, this you will know. Pray write as soon as possible. You should make prompt arrangement. What more shall I write. Let your favour rest on me.

Post Script.

A letter has been written to Satara, the answer shall be communicated to you.

True Translation.

LE. JACOB,
Special Commissioner.

CHIMA SAHEB CAPTURED TACTFULLY

P. D. Vol. 24 of 1858 (Page 535)

Summary of the letter No. 131 dated Kolhapur 1st April 1858 from Colonel Le Grand Jacob, Special Commissioner, Kolhapur, to H. L. Anderson, Secretary, Government of Bombay :—

1. The younger Raja of Kolhapur (Chima Saheb) was asked to attend on 31st March at the quarters of the Political Superintendent to receive certain orders sent by Government. The matter was kept a close secret lest there should be trouble created by the men of the younger Raja.

3. "The several gates of the town were immediately taken possession of and none allowed to come forth without a pass."

5. "Chima Sahib left about midnight in charge of Lieut. and Adjutant Boultan of the Kolhapoor Infantry .... to proceed by regular stages to Waghotan."

6. "On the 29th ..... I caused the arrest of a deputation from Baroda, and on one of the party named Bhagrao bin Sumbhajee Powar a most treasonable letter was found which the bearer attempted to eat, written in the name of Bulwant Rao Babajee Bhonsale or Bhossli of Poona to Dada Sahib Bhonsale of Kolhapur, a Mankaree high in confidence of both Rajas, but particularly attached to the elder."

8. "The whole forms a considerable body of evidence against Chima Sahib and his most confidential men ....."

9. "I shall leave for Robertson to repeat particulars of the party from Baroda, men and women twenty-one in number, of humble life who appear to have been sent for service with the Ranee here."

11. "The other persons seized as per margin are all connected with Chima Sahib's intrigues with the 27th Regiment and their conduct is now undergoing investigation."

1 Shreedhar Seetaram Furnees.
2 Tatia Mohitia.
3 Babajee Akder.
4 Govind Shet Sonar.
5 Babajee Sonar Mookaria.

L-A H 225—19

PROCEEDINGS OF RAMSING

P. D. Vol. 21 of 1858 (Pages 627-641)

"Ramsing bin Indrasing, Rajput aged about 42 years, inhabitant of the city of Kolapoor and Babajee bin Bhoojanga Naik, Bhoola, a Mahratta aged about 55, inhabitant of Kolhapoor, and Krishnappa bin Gopal Chowan, a Mahratta aged about 45 years of Kolapoor are brought to trial on the following charges, under the provisions of acts XI and XIV and XVI of 1857.

1st charge.—For treason, in having in Kolhapoor during the month of June, 1857, conspired to rebel against the constituted authorities of the state, by entering into negotiations with one Sitaram Rango, an emissary, since executed at Satara for treason.

2nd charge.—For having at the same time and place aided and abetted in treason, by having come to the knowledge of a contemplated rising, and failing to give notice thereof to any constituted authority.

1st witness.—Azumh Khan Wulud (2nd January, 1858) Shahdil Khan Jamadar recognised the prisoner Ramsing as one who was insolent to Colonel Malcolm and was made a prisoner.

2nd witness.—Babajee Naik of Punalla. He recognised Ramsing and said, "the prisoner was at Punalla in the hot season and put up in the Maharaja's temple, where several other Gudkurees of Punalla also assembled. They used to go to the house of the Political Superintendent Colonel Maughan to make petition."

3rd witness.—Ramchandra Dhondo. He said that he knew Keshav Purshram and his visit to Bhorgam with four men, two Patils of Bhorgam, one Sitaram, the son of Rungojee Bapoojee and his servant. They all came to his house and asked him to call Ramsing. They were all talking of an intended rising in Satara District. The Bhorgam Patil and Sitaram Rango and the two prisoners Babajee Naik and Krishnappa Chowan were apprehended in my house.

4th witness.—Bhow bin Dajee Morie, Patil of Bhoragam. He said that he knew Keshav Purshram and was with them when they were all apprehended.

5th witness.—Bulwunta bin Narayan Patil of Bhorgam. He said

he knew Keshav Purshram and also about his visits at Bhorgam. He was with them on the day when they were all apprehended.

6th witness.—Vishnoopant the Kotwal of the city of Kolhapoor. He recognised all the prisoners as those whom he seized in June last.

Defence.—All the prisoners denied the charge.

"The court from the evidence before it is of the opinion that the prisoners are guilty of the first charge and guilty of the second charge. It accordingly sentences the prisoner Ramsing bin Indrasing to suffer death by being hanged, and the other two prisoners Babajee bin Bhoojanga Naik, Bhola and Krishnappa bin Gopal Chowan to transportation for life.

M. D. Schiender,

Officiating Judge Advocate.

(Signed)

President of the Court.

Camp Kolhapoor.
2nd January, 1858.

BOMBAY PLOT

[Troops in the N. I. Nos. 10 and 11 were affected by the Rebellion in the north and they were planning to act in October, 1857. This was found out in September (26). Prompt action was taken in tracing these seditious actions by Mr. Forgett. Leaders of the troops were tried and sentenced. On the 15th of October Havildar Sayad Hoosein and private Mougal were blown 'in presence of troops in garrison.' Four others were tried and sentenced to transportation for life. This plot was much discussed in the press and by the people at that time. This was more due to the dramatic actions taken by Mr. Forgett and was also due to the differences of opinion between him and Brigadier Shortt].

THE SEPOY CONSPIRACY IN BOMBAY (1857)

P. D. Vol. 28 of 1857 (Page 333)

Letter from Brigadier J. M. Shortt, commanding the Garrison, Bombay, to H. L. Anderson, Secretary to Government, dated 17th October, 1857 :—

Sir,

"I had yesterday evening the honour to receive your letter of the 16th instant No. 23.

I regret to say that I do not know the extent of the disaffection which prevails among the native troops in this Garrison.

From what has appeared on evidence there was only 1 Havildar, Marine Battalion and one Private, 10th Regiment, both of whom were convicted and shot to death. One Jamadar, Marine Battalion who has been tried and acquitted, the evidence not coming up to what was reported to me. There is the Subedar, 11th Regiment in confinement whose conduct has been I think very seditious. I have not as yet sufficient proof to convict.

I have the names of five men of the 10th Regiment N. I. whose language is said to have been disaffected and seditious, but I do not as yet possess sufficient proof to bring them to trial.

My information has been principally derived from Forgett, the Deputy Commissioner of Police. From what he reports and from the conversation overheard by himself and Captain Barrow in

command of the Marine Battalion, my impression is that a good many men in the 10th and 11th Regiments and perhaps the Marine Battalion are disaffected, in that they contemplated heinous crimes, but the 10th regiment is I think the worst."

II

[A letter from Brigadier J. M. Shortt, commanding the Garrison, Bombay, to H. L. Anderson, Esquire, Secretary to Government regarding disaffection in the Bombay regiment, dated 31st October 1857, No. 677. (P.D. Vol. 30 of 1857, p.p. 321 to 327).]

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday No. 2625.

2. The first intimation that I had of there being any thing wrong in the Native Regiments in Garrison viz., 10th and 11th Regiments and Marine Battalion, was on the 26th September, when Colonel Shepheard the officer in command of the 10th regiment called and reported to me that Captain Macgowan had been informed by the Jemadar of his company by name Lall Sing that there was reason to believe that two Naiks were disaffected. The information was very slight. So I pointed out the course to pursue but there being only the strongest suspicion against a Naique by name Kampta Pursad, I thought it best that he should be discharged in which opinion the commander in chief agreeing, he was accordingly removed from the Regiment and handed over to the Police Colonel Shepheard was desired to very carefully watch all that went on.

3. On the 6th October Captain Barrow who commands the Marine Battalion called to report that in consequence of information given to him by Mr. Forjett the Deputy Commissioner of Police, he accompanied that Gentleman in disguise to a House where it was said seditious meetings were held at nights by men of the three Native Regiments in Garrison, and through slits in the wall, he looked into a well lighted room and there saw a Private of the 10th Regiment named Mungul and a jemadar and a Drill Havildar of the Marine Battalion together with two other natives. While the jemadar was there, the conversation was in a low tone—and far from clear but after his departure, it became louder and discussed the subject of the discharge of the before named Kamta Pursad—of the Plunder of Bombay—of their ill fortune in being counteracted by the

arrangements made by me at the Mohurrum, when it was the intention to rise and slay and plunder, and of the plan for the 26th Regiment (which had been only a few days in Bombay) to join them hereafter. In conclusion Captain Barrow stated that there was an expectation of getting more information particularly regarding subedar Goolgar Dhobey 11th Regiment who seemed though not present to be a leading man, and there were also hopes of finding a correspondence which it was believed to be going on between Bombay and Ajmer.

It was clearly very desirable to wait, so I told Captain Barrow my wishes on the subject.

On the 7th I gained no further information while in office, so drove out to see Mr. Forgett in the afternoon—but with a like failure.

4. On the morning of the 8th October I wrote to Mr. Forgett who called upon me, and the information seemed to be more conclusive. The mutineers appearing to contemplate a rise on the principal "Dewallee" night the 15th October, I had sent for Colonel Shepheard and Captain Boyd who command the 10th and 11th Regiments and now put them in possession of the base and instructed them to narrowly watch the state of their Regiments.

5. Captain Barrow and Mr. Forgett still attended and watched the men who assembled at the former meeting place. They saw different men, and the conversation is said to have run on slaying the Europeans, plundering the town and joining the King of Delhi etc. It seemed clear that subedar Goolgar Dhobey was deeply implicated though not present.

6. No further information was now expected by the Police—so on the evening of the 11th I arranged that subedar Goolgar Dhobey 11th Regiment—Jemdar Shaik Rahiman and Drill Havildar Syed Hoosan Marine Battalion and private Mungul 10th regiment were to be made prisoners at 9 a.m. of the 12th and lodged in cells in Fort George and this was accordingly done.

7. On the 13th Drill Havildar Syed Hoosan and private Mungul were brought to Trial. They were sentenced on the 15th to be blown away from Guns, and this was done by my orders the same afternoon in presence of the Troops in Garrison.

8. On the 15th Jemadar Shaik Rahiman was brought to trial

and acquitted. I confirmed the sentence and released him.

9. On the 17th and 18th I was in communication with Mr. Forgett and as there seemed to be sufficient evidence, I brought subedar Goolgar Dhobey 11th regiment to trial on the 21st and on the 22nd October he was sentenced to be hanged, and disapproving of the sentence I was led to commute it to transportation for life.

10. On the 24th October a court assembled for the trial of Havaldar Soobasing 10th regiment and sentenced him to be transportation for life.

Before the same court Naique Luxman 10th Regiment was brought to trial and sentenced to be hanged but the evidence was to me unsatisfactory in both cases so I reassembled the court, which however adhered to its former finding and sentence. I confirmed both but commuted the Naique's sentence of death to transportation for life and these three last men have been accordingly transported.

11. I have at this moment in confinment for trial a private of the 10th regiment for having been present when seditious language was used and not giving notice thereof to his commanding officer.

12. I must now mention that from all that has transpired, it appears clear that men of the Native regiments have been for more than three months, in the habit of attending seditious meetings in an obscure part of Bombay which is near to the Lines. This is more clearly to be inferred from the allusion to the intention of rising to slay and plunder on the night of the Mohurum, the 30th of August and it is therefore to be regretted that the police had no information until the beginning of October for it was the opinion that the Subedar Goolgar Dhobey had become suspicious, and did not appear at the meetings where he was so anxiously asked after by different men and consequently we have no clue to the extent to which the mutiny has spread.

13. On this moment the 10th regiment gives one the most anxiety. It mutinied in, I think, 1854, at Nuseerabad and I have at present reason to believe that two (2) Subedars, and Havildar and Naique and (7) seven privates are engaged in evil courses. There are doubtless more—but there is no proof of convict and I am therefore keenly watching from day to day what goes on. It is also reported to me that one (1) Subedar, one (1) Havildar and one

(1) Naique of the 11th Regiment are engaged but proof is wanting.

I have reason to believe that there will be a great meeting on the evening of 3rd or 4th proximo at a different part of the Native town, but this is well looked to—no means at my command are unemployed and I can assure the Government that trial and punishment shall instantaneously follow the proof to convict.

"REBELS BLOWN FROM GUNS"

Following are the extracts from "Shells from the Sands of Bombay" by Sir D. E. Wacha (page 67) which describes this incident graphically :—

"It was in the afternoon, just as we emerged from our schools, the Elphinstone Institution, situated opposite the maidan, and which is now the Elphinstone and Anglo-Vernacular School, that a scene of the greatest bustle presented itself. The open maidan, the entire parade ground, was closely occupied by the military. Behind the military line vast crowds had congregated. Inquiring into the cause of the exceptional multitude, our boyish curiosity was satisfied by being told that two mutineers chained to two guns were to be immediately blown. With bated breath we ran to be as near the spot where the two were pinioned to the cannons. As far as my recollection goes, the guns faced the Esplanade Road, and were nearly in a line with the white Roman Catholic Cross of ancient lineage, in the other maidan known as the Marine Battalion Parade Ground. We made our way through the crowd till we had a good view of the prisoners. So far as my recollection goes, the European troops, Infantry and Artillery, took up a position by way of a square. The Indian regiments were located within the squares. Some Indian Navy Marines were landed and also there was a serried phalanx of the Mercantile Marine. They made an imposing but awe-inspiring show. There was a thrill of excitement all round and our pulse throbbed faster and faster till at a given word of command the cannons were fired and the pinioned criminals were blown. The burnt flesh sent an unpleasant odour which we all could easily sniff. All was over."

KHANDESH BHEEL REBELLION

[The Bheels were a backward but warlike community inhabiting large areas in Central India, Gujerat and Khandesh. Greatly cherishing their traditional independence, the community was naturally stirred by the news of the rebellion in the North ; and under the leadership of Kajeesingh, Bhagoji Naique and others, they raised the banner of revolt in Khandesh. The revolt was of course suppressed, but after a stubborn resistance on the part of the rebels. Kajee Singh, the leader, was given unconditional pardon.

In fact, Kajee Singh had been in the service of the East India Company for some time, but in 1851 was court-marshalled for misuse of power and sentenced to 10 years imprisonment. The "Sadre Adalat", however, released him after five years.]

REWARD FOR BHEEMA NAIK'S APPREHENSION

(P. D. Vol. 28 of 1857, p. 125)

Extracts from letter No. 52 of 1857 from the Commissioner of Police to the Secretary to Government, Secret Department, dated 28th September 1857, Poona :—

"Sir,

I beg to submit for the consideration of Government that a reward of one thousand rupees be offered for the apprehension of Bheema Naik who is issuing proclamations to the Khandesh Police, stating that he is acting under the authority of King of Delhi and threatening them as if they remain faithful to Government.

2. I am of opinion that were a reward of a thousand rupees offered it would tend materially to destroy his influence and most probably ensure his capture.

3. This Bheema Naik is the leader of the Bheels who attacked Lieutenant Kennedy's party."

ATTEMPT ON SEERPOOR VILLAGE

(P. D. Vol. 30 of 1857, pp. 113 to 114—Letter, dated 30th October 1857)

A letter from S. Mansfield, Esq., Magistrate of Candesh, to H. L. Anderson, Esq., Secretary to Government, S. D., Bombay, regarding

attack by Bheel rebel leaders, viz. Bheema Naik and Kajee Sing on Seerpoor.

" Sir,

I beg to report for the information to Government that fifteen hundred (1,500) Bheels under Bheema Naik, Kajee Sing and other Naiks made an attempt at a descent on Seerpoor last night but their hearts failed them at the last moment and they turned back after they had reached within a mile of the place. Intelligence was brought to us at 4 a.m. and Captain Birch whom I accompanied after collecting all the men he could went in pursuit for about six (6) miles when they entered the hills where it was impossible to follow them owing to the thickness of the jungle at this season of the year.

2. From information I have received it appears that the Naiks are determined to make another attempt at Seerpoor. I have therefore directed the officer in command of the company of the 19th Regiment N. I. *en route* to the Sooltanpoor district to march on this place. I am also raising a considerable number of Peons to relieve the Bheel corps to admit of their being employed in the hills against these marauding Bheels."

VILLAGES PLUNDERED BY BHIL NAIKS

(P. D. Vol. 30 of 1857, pp. 137-143)

A letter from S. Mansfield, Esq., Magistrate of Candesh, to H. L. Anderson, Esq., Secretary to Government, Bombay, regarding insurrection of Bheels—letter, dated 2nd November, 1857 :—

" Sir,

In continuation of my letter No. 1725 of 30th ultimo I have to report that two (2) villages within six miles of the place I am writing from were plundered yesterday by Kajee Sing, Bheema and other Naiks. Another village in the Sooltanpoor Talooka has been plundered by one Rewallea Naik.

2. I have also received intelligence by Telegraph that a band is assembling on the borders of the Khandesh and Ahmednaggar Zilas in the Patoda Talooka of the latter and four hundred (400) of the Sinner Bheels are supposed to be making for Khandesh.

3. From the assemblage of so many separate bands for plunder

it is evident that the whole Bheel population are in insurrection and most strongest measures are required to put them down."

(Rest of the letter is devoted to arrangement to suppress the insurrection.)

GOVERNMENT TREASURE PLUNDERED

(P. D. Vol. 31 of 1857, pp. 455 to 457)

Extract from a letter from S. Mansfield, Esquire, Magistrate of Khandesh, to H. L. Anderson, Esquire, Secretary to Government of Bombay, dated 19th November, 1857. Serial No. 1883 of 1857.

"Sir,

I regret to have to report for the information of Government, that several carts containing seven (7) lacs of treasure, were plundered on the 17th instant by the Bheels beyond Sindwa, about thirty (30) miles from the Candeish Frontier, in His Highness Holkar's territory."

FIFTEEN HUNDRED BHILS IN RISING

(P. D. Vol. 31 of 1857, pp. 525 to 530)

Extract from the proceedings of Government in the Military Department No. 6370 of 1857. Letter from the quarter master general of the army to the Secretary to Government military department :—

"2. The Khandeish Bheels under their Naiques Khajee Sing and Bheema have united and number it is supposed some fifteen hundred men ; they occupy the Satapoora range from where they have already descended and committed serious depredations in the Sooltanpoor districts and threatened the village of Shada and several others."

COMPLICITY OF HOLKAR'S OFFICIALS

(P. D. Vol. 32 of 1857, pp. 77 to 81)

Extracts from a letter from Samuel Mansfield, Esq., Magistrate of Candesh, to H. L. Anderson, Esq., Secretary to Government, Bombay, regarding Holkar's attitude towards Khajee Sing and his friends. Letter, dated 30th November 1857. Serial No. 1957 of 1857 :—

"3rd. Captain Birch reports what I had already heard that the want of energy displayed by His Highness the Holkar's officials and troops at Sindwa to protect traffic and disperse the bands of Bheels is so great that the only inference to be drawn is that they render assistanse to Khajee Sing and other Bheel Naiks and participate in their illgotten gains. Khajee Sing's head quarters are close to Sidwa which he visits every day. Captain Birch states there were hundreds of opium carts detained at Sidwa itself to pay toll to Khajee Sing and notwithstanding this, not the slightest effort was made by Holker's officials to seize him or protect the opium. Moreover the post has been stopped and the rider and his horse carried away into the jungles within musket shot of Sendwa and the telegraph wire has only been cut in its neighbourhood."

"4th. His Lordship in Council will perceive that all my efforts to protect the Agra and Bombay road are in vain if such a state of things is allowed to continue and beg strongly to recommend that the fort of Sendwa should be placed temporarily if not permanently under Khandesh and garrisoned by the Bheel corps. From what I know of what has occurred there and in its neighbourhood during the last two months I am quite convinced that unless a European officer is stationed there in charge of troops, order will not be restored and postal and telegraph communications will be continually subject to interruption."

BHAGOJEE NAIK'S MOTHER CAPTURED

(P. D. Vol. 20 of 1858, pp. 69 to 77 Serial No. 4 of 1857)

Summary of a letter from Captain T. Nuttall, 29 Regiment N. I. on Special Duty, to Mr. Battington, Esq., Commissioner of Police, regarding a fight between Bagojee Naik and his band and himself and the result of the fight. Letter dated 23rd December, 1857 :—

Whilst at Peint Captain Nuttal came to know that Bhagojee Naik and his band were beyond Harsole and were making for Macodah. Upon getting this news Captain Nuttal with few Sowars marched towards that place without taking rest anywhere. At Harsole, Patel of the village brought one prisoner who gave full information about Bhagojee Naik and his band. On receiving the information that Bhagojee is driving towards Macodah Captain Nuttal immediately rushed on. At Deurah village one scout brought the tiding that Bhagojee was within two miles distance. Captain Nuttal with his Sowars drove towards that place and surprising Bhagojee and his band fell on them. In the Skirmish Bhagojee lost some of his followers

but ran away.

In this little fight some women were caught, amongst them Bhagojee's mother.

COMPLICITY OF THE RAJA OF BURWANEE

(Pages 673-680, P. D. Volume 25 of 1858)

Letter No. 198 of 1858 from Major Haselwood, Superintendent of Police and Political Assistant to the Collector, to Mr. Mansfield, Magistrate of Khandesh, dated 5th April 1858 :—

Major Haselwood writes that on his arrival in Burwanee territory with field force, he "naturally expected after what colonel Stockly had written to me that he was sure I might depend on the Rajah to aid me to the utmost of his power and that he was to request him to furnish me with good and faithful guides" when the force was within two miles of Burwanee the Kotwal of Burwanee came. Major Haselwood tried to get information regarding Bheema and Menwassia Naiks from Kotwal of Burwanee but he got most evasive answers. He could also find out that supplies in large quantities were sent to the Hills. The confession of one Chattersing (connection of Rajah's) also disclosed the fact that clothes etc. were supplied to Dowlutsing. He writes in Para. 3, "From all the above circumstances and from the evidence which I have obtained, the complicity of the Raja of Burwanee in aiding and abetting in rebellion appeared to me to be so clearly demonstrated that I felt but one course open to me—namely to place Rajah's Brother under surveillance and to disarm his followers and to address Captain Waterman commanding Malwa Bheel corps with whom the Rajah of Burwanee was reported to be at Singda and request him to place the Rajah a prisoner pending an inquiry into his conduct."

THE BATTLE AT AMBA PANI

I

(P. D. Vol. 25 of 1858, pages 383 to 387)

Extracts from a letter from Major Evans, camp Satpoora field, to the Secretary to Government. Bombay, regarding Amba Panee battle with Bheels :—

" Sir,

I have the honour to report for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor that soon after my arrival at Burwanee I ascertained that Bheema and Mowasia Naiks had in reality no intention whatever of submitting to terms and that their only object in negotiating was to gain time.

2. I, therefore, determined on attacking them, on the morning of the 11th instant; as also Kajee Sing, Daulatsing and Kaloo Bhawa, I learnt, were encamped with them at this place.

5. The chiefs with three thousand followers consisting of Mackranees and Bheels took up their stand on the summit of a narrow and steep range of Hills, the tops of which afforded excellent cover, owing to their being crowned with rocks and large stones.

8. The troops were soon on the summit of the range when a most determined resistance was offered under cover of the rocks, especially by the Mackranees, who have fought desperately and it was not till 3 p.m. that the Hills were cleared of them.

9. Many of the enemies escaped eastward or from the right of the position.

12. The enemy could not have lost less than one hundred and fifty killed. The number of wounded is unknown, sixty two men were taken prisoners out of which fifty seven have been shot by sentence of a Drum Beat Court-Martial. About two hundred women and children have also been taken prisoners. I enclose the list of casualties.

List of casualties.—16 Killed 45 Wounded, 1 Horse wounded, 7 Missing (men), 69 Total."

II

(P. D. Vol. 26 of 1858, pp. 9 to 13)

Extracts from a letter from Major A. M. Haselwood, Superintendent of Police and Political Assistant to the Collector, to S. Mansfield Esq., Magistrate of Khandesh, dated 12th April 1857, regarding the resistance to Bheels :—

"2. Major Evans and Captain Langston will doubtless give full particulars of the part they took in the engagement which commenced at 8 a.m. and terminated at 1/2 past 3 p.m. in the total discomfiture of the insurgents, who fought, particularly Mukranees, Arabs and Rohillaas, with the desperation of men, who knew that if taken prisoners, nothing but death awaited them. Many of these are known to be men who formed a portion of the escaped garrison of Dhar. A good idea of the obstinacy and desperation with which the insurgents fought may in some measure be derived from the perusal of our Casualty Return. which I regret to say is very heavy—being 2 European Officers severely wounded, Captain Birch and Lieut. Basevi, one Native officer of the 9th Regiment killed and about 56 rank and file killed and wounded 170, of these 86 were Makranees and Rohillas, 19 Mussalman, 11 Seedees, the rest Bheels. Dead bodies of the enemy have been counted, and doubtless there are many more lying about in the Nallah and long grass undiscovered. Their number of wounded must of course have been very considerable. The number of women and children taken exceeds 460 and amongst them are the wives of Kajee Sing and Mowassia Naiks and of Bhow Ravol of Kurree, also the sister of the former and the niece of Bheema Naik. Kajee Sing Naik's only son Polad Sing is said to have been killed. (170 plus 72=242 killed, 46 women missing). 72 male prisoners were also taken, amongst them the Sindee who cut down Lieut. Basevi. Of these 55 were tried last evening by Drum Beat—Court Martial and shot and the rest similarly disposed of to-day.

3. I beg to bring particularly to your notice the gallant conduct of Lieut. Stanley Scott, who, in conjuction with the Rifles under Lieut. Coghlan, after turning the enemy's left flank and driving them back on the main body of the column, at the earlier part of the engagement, persisted in an attack upon some Makranees who had posted themselves on the summit of a high Hill surrounded with huge boulders of stone, where they held out shooting down numbers of our men, for at least two hours. In this attack he was assisted by Lieut. Hanson and Sibthorpe of the 9th Regiment and Esree Pursad Subedar Major of the 2nd Bheel Corps whose gallantry also was most conspicuous on the occasion. After fighting their way up step by step to within 12 paces of the summit of the hill, they rushed with a shout upon the enemy shooting and cutting down the whole. 23 dead bodies were counted within the enclosure.

(P. D. Volume 25 of 1858, pp. 557-561)

Major Evans report to the Secretary to Government dated 14th April 1857 on the battle at Amba Panee (11th April 1857) :—

Major Evans gives information regarding " the entire defeat on the 11th April of the insurgent chief at Amba Panee where a large number of their followers were attacked by a portion of the Field force under my orders, and driven from a strong and well chosen position, the approaches to which excepting from one point they had reason to believe inaccessible " and praises the very gallant and spirited manner, of the officers and men of all arms in which they commenced and followed up the attack in spite of " an obsitinate resistance of seven hours' duration and gained complete possession of the enemy's stronghold."

The Field force made an attack on a strong position of insurgents situated on a summit of a hill, protected by large boulders of stone and defended by a number of Mackranees who offered a most determined resistance.

" The officers taking advantage of the little cover the ground afforded continuously but perseveringly advanced in skirmishing order to within twelve paces of their enemy keeping their men loaded for the final rush. They lost four of their number at the onslaught but twenty three of the Mackranees were left dead on the scene of action."

MAJOR HASELWOOD PLEADS FOR A MILD POLICY

(Pages 495-502, P. D. Vol. 27, 1858)

Extracts from a letter from Major Haselwood, Supdt. of Police and Political Assistant to the Collector, to L. Mansfield, Magistrate of Khandesh dated 5th May 1858, No. 270 of 1858 :—

3. " The outrages which have been perpetrated by the majority of the Naiks and their followers have certainly been of a heinous description, but it must be borne in mind, that the Bheels are proverbially a suspicious race, easily tampered with and led away. It is an established fact that Kajeesing, Bheema and Mowassia Naiks received Purwannahs either direct from the King of Delhi or from some high authority in that city directing them to rise in rebellion against the British Government and there is every reason to believe that they

received similar instructions from Holkar's Durbar, and that they obeyed those instructions under the firm conviction that British Rule could not last, and that Holkar himself was in actual rebellion against it.

4. There is also little doubt that large amount of treasure which fell into Kajee Sing's hands was forwarded through the Sindwa Pass with the purposed intention of its falling into his hands, in order that he might be given the means of raising and paying Mukranees and Wulayutees to oppose the British government. Though doubtless all these Naiks merit punishment, still a great and generous government should remember that they are dealing with wild and ignorant race, who have not embraced their hands in the blood of our country-women and their little ones; that the Bheels are men who are naturally of a generous and humane nature and very different to the ruthless and savage mutineers our armies in the upper provinces have had to deal with. These considerations lead me most earnestly to urge upon government that a considerate and mild policy be adopted towards these misguided people. The death of the Naiks can be of little consideration to the British government, and if the chief Naiks would come in on the promise of their lives being spared them, and being permitted to leave at the named places under surveillance, I am of opinion that the course should be unhesitatingly adopted.

5. Admitting that the government act on the recommendations contained on my letter No. 245 dated 24th ultimo, and locate regular troops at Burwanee and Rajpur, at Shirpur, Shada, Sallodar, and other place along the Khandesh Frontiers. Admitting that detachments of the Bheel Corps are located all along the Sindwa road, still I would be bold to point out that our every arrangement, let it be ever so complete, cannot ensure the safety of the 'dawks' or the security of the telegraph wire between Shirpur and Akhurpoor on the Narbudda. It is impossible, however well and constantly the Road may be patrolled, to prevent the occasional plunder of the one or the constant cutting of the other. Government are fully aware of all the great public inconveniences which were felt from the interruption of the telegraph communication during last monsoon. The question therefore for consideration is whether to carry out a relentless policy against free, ignorant and wild men who have been seduced into rebellion or whether generous and enlarged policy should be displayed towards them. My own feeling and I unhesitatingly express it, is, that feeling satisfied that the Naiks are not likely to be caught before the monsoon we adopted the latter policy on grounds of public inconvenience and that the lives of these wretched men between whom and the blood thirsty mutineers of Bengal a wide line should be drawn, should not

be held as of regular importance for the speedy tranquillity of this difficult and for eight months in the year inaccessible part of the country."

MANSFIELD AGAINST GENERAL AMNESTY

(Pages 492-493, P. D. Volume 27 of 1858)

Extracts from Letter No. 851 of 1858 from S. Mansfields, Esquire, Magistrate of Khandesh, to H. L. Anderson, Esquire, Secretary to Government, Bombay, dated 10th May 1858 :—

Secret Department.

3. "I anticipate little benefit from proclaiming a general amnesty to followers of the different chiefs who are very differently situated to those residing in our own territories."

4. "They each have large trusts of country which they rule over, independent of all control, and their followers look up to them with the greatest respect and veneration, and would no more think of acting in opposition to their wishes than the Highlanders two (2) centuries ago, would have done with regard to their own chiefs."

Major Haselwood appears to be of opinion that a pardon should be granted not only to all the Bheels but to all the Naiks who have been in Rebellion during the last eight months notwithstanding they have fought against the Government and have committed the most heinous crimes of every description simply because we have not yet been able to destroy them and their remaining unsubdued, will cause a great deal of inconvenience. It is for government to determine whether such proceedings are calculated to increase its dignity and secure the safety of its subjects residing in the neighbourhood of the Naik's countries and whether by postponing the retribution the Naiks so fully deserve, government will not be subject to greater expense and trouble hereafter."

MANSFIELD DISAGREES WITH HASELHOOD'S CONCLUSIONS

(Pages 539-540 P. D. Vol. 28, 1858)

Extracts from a letter from Mr. S. Mansfield, Magistrate of Khandesh, to Mr. H. L. Anderson, Secretary to Government, Bombay, dated 22nd May 1858—No. 929 of 1858 :—

2. "I do not consider the explanation now furnished warranted major Haselhwood in asserting that the Naiks had purwanahs from the King of Delhi or letters from Holkar ; much less do I think that the treasure plundered was ever intended by its owners to fall into the hands of the Bheels. The probable reason why the owners of it did not attend my warning, was that they were aware that large consignments of treasure had for some time previous been sent via the Sindwa jungles and had reached Indore in safety, and knowing they had a very strong guard they preferred risking travelling by Sindwa to taking the circuitous route by Assarghur."

BHEEL WOMEN AS HOSTAGES

(P. D. Vol. 29 of 1858, pp. 657 to 665, Serial No. 104 of 1858)

Extracts from a letter from the Commissioner of Police to the Secretary to Government, Secret Department, Bombay—regarding capture of Bheel women as hostages, dated 1st June, 1858 :—

"5. It is well known that the Bheel women are just as troublesome and mischievous as the men, and their seizure and imprisonment undoubtedly have had the best possible effect. They obtain information and supply it for the Males, cook their food and fight also.

6. I am strongly impressed with the conviction, that they should be retained as hostages and not released, till Bhagojee and other Naiques are captured. An announcement to this effect might have the result of accelerating that event.

7. Captain Nuttall's exertions are unceasing—the great difficulty he has to contend with is defective and false intelligence.

8. The women have all been compromised by their own acts. Their detention is perfectly legitimate. They have great influence with the men. It is desirable that they should be made to understand that a disturbance is attended with personal inconvenience to themselves, that Bhagojee is not their friend, but the cause of their misfortune, that his interest and theirs are in antagonism, that their liberty depends on his capture. Bhagojee's own women would not aid in it, but there are many among the number who would.

9. I deprecate therefore the release of any at present, and propose rather with the permission of Government to authorize Captain Nuttall to act on the above, and employ the services of

any he may select to obtain information with promise of release to themselves and their friends, on the capture of Bhagojee and the remainder of the gang."

GOVERNMENT SUPPORTS CAPTURE OF BHIL WOMEN

(P. D. Vol. 29 of 1858, pp. 665-666, Letter dated 19th June, 1358)

Extract from a letter from Bombay Government to the Commissioner of Police regarding the capture of Bheel women as Hostages :—

"2. In reply I am desired to inform you that the R. H. G. in C concurs with you in considering that the women should not be released and he does not understand this view can be deemed inconsistent with the instructions contained in the 4th paragraph of letter No. 1996 of the 28th."

KAJEE SING GRANTED UNCONDITIONAL PARDON

(P. D. Vol. 33 of 1858, pp. 349-362, Letter No. 1340 of 1858, dated 31st July, 1858)

A letter from S. Mansfield, Esqr., Magistrate of Khandesh, to H. L. Anderson, Esq., Secretary to Government, Bombay, regarding the story of Kajee Sing and unconditional pardon given to him :—

"Sir,

Under the authority vested in me by Lord Elphistone's telegram of the 22nd ultimo I have the honour to report that I have granted an unconditional pardon to Kajee Singh who has dismissed his followers to their respective villages and arrived in Dhoolia a few days ago.

2. Before granting him these extremely favourable terms I made two attempts to induce him to submit conditionally. I first promised him his life only but he replied that he might still be liable to be transported or imprisoned for life to which death would be preferable and on guaranteeing to him no such restrictions should be put on his liberty he refused to come in except on the condition of a full and unconditional pardon.

3. Taking into consideration the difficult and unhealthy country

in which the Naiks had their headquarters which render Military operations against them almost impracticable for the next ten (10) months and knowing what amount of misery these men, rendered desparate by the loss of their families could inflict on the population residing on the borders of Kandesh before they could be killed or apprehended, if they were allowed to remain united, I was convinced no sacrifice could scarely be too great if their dispersion could be accomplished and I had little doubt of breaking up the confideracy if Kajee Sing who was the head of it could be induced to submit.

4. Sufficient time has not yet elapsed to enable me to report that such has actually taken place—but Kajee Sing states confidently such will be the case and that every one of the Naiks will now disperse and has requested me to meet them in person to give them an assurance of pardon as they are under the jurisdiction of Lieut. Cunning. I have obtained that officer's consent to the arrangement and I shall leave Dhoolia in a few days for the interview.

5. His Lordship says in his telegram "I have no kind of faith in Kajee Sing's promises". After what has occurred during the last year His Lordship could not necessarily have any confidence in him—but he may not be aware that for twenty (20) years, from 1831 up to 1851, Kajee Sing conducted himself most admirably. He had police charge of the road from Sindwa to Seerpoor—a distance of upwards of forty (40) miles through one continued jungle, inhabited only by Bheels, who had lately been reclaimed by Major General—then Lieut. Outram and no robberies or crime of any kind occurred which he was not most active in detecting. He also distinguished himself greatly under Major D. Graham, Major Morris, Captain Rose and Major Kerr in apprehending notorious Bheel dacoits and was and is still held in great respect by all classes of natives. In 1851 a petty robbery was committed on the Sindwa road, and some persons were apprehended whom he and others tortured to confess, to such an extent that one person died. For this offence (extremely revolting to European idea but very venial in the eyes of Natives) he was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment, 5 of which were remitted by the Sudr Fouzdaree Adawlat. He was released in 1855. Captain Rose and Major Haselwood both begged me to restore him to his situation but I refrained from doing so until June 1857 when I thought his great influence among the Bheels of his district might be useful in keeping the road clear and restraining the other Bheels on the frontier.

6. Notwithstanding I have been deceived in Kajee Singh, I still think he is to be depended on, and that under the circumstances he was placed in, his outbreak is not so much to be wondered at. He had seen the Burwanee Naiks plundering in all directions not only in foreign territory but in our own and no vigorous attempt made to stop them. He had heard accounts of the lamentable circumstances in the North West and in Central India, within a few miles of his own residence, all of course very much exaggerated; and like many men, not hostile to the British and much better informed—thought our rule was at an end and he might again pursue the wild life led by his ancestors.

7. He states the immediate cause of his outbreak was some abuse Captain Birch and a Ressaldar of the Poona Irregular Horse gave him—but he admits that had he not received this provocation (which Captain Birch denies as far as he is concerned) he is doubtful if he would have been able to have withstood the temptation of following the example of his neighbours.

8. As far as I can ascertain, he has not been guilty of any acts of wanton cruelty. He plundered the treasure and seized the bullocks of a number of opium carts which he compelled their owners to ransom. He assures me he was engaged in plundering out one village named Kurwund though he is aware that many acts of plunder and robbery were committed in his name.

9. He also states notwithstanding the large amount of treasure he plundered he has no money left. This appears difficult to credit but he had no means of concealing it. The treasury was so bulky that he could not bury it without the assistance of many other Bheels—who he says have robbed him of all which was not taken possession of by the force under Major Evans.

10. Taking into consideration his previous character the policy of making use of him to restrain his Bheel followers numbering between eight and nine hundred men, who have now dispersed to their villages but who might be tempted to break out again and the necessity of providing some support for him and his family I have restored him to his former situation, and placed all the police under him as before.

11. I am afraid His Lordship will not perhaps approve of his restoration to office as he desired me in his telegram to try to arrange if he is pardoned, he does not deceive us again. But with due deference, I must observe such an arrangement was imprac-

ticable for nothing but confinement or transportation could render such a result certain besides I think when treating with such a rude race as the Bheels half measures are almost certain to miscarry. They must either be treated with perfect confidence or put in such a position as to be unable to do any harm. Kajee Sing is fully alive to the merciful treatment he has received from Government and as far as promises go, is most anxious to show himself worthy of it.

12. As a necessary consequence of his pardon and restoration of office, I have released his wife and sister and the whole of the women and children who were in confinement.

13. I beg to forward a translation of an order I have addressed to him."

SINDWA TREASURY LOOT

(P. D. Volume 27 of 1858, page 229)

Letter from the Commissioner of Police to the Secretary to Government of Bombay, dated 4th May 1858.

"Sir,

Referring to my letter No. 61 of the 17th ultimo, I have the honour to report for the information of Government, that from a communication received on the 2nd inst. from Sir R. Hamilton, there is no doubt as to the Guard having participated in the plunder of the Treasure in the Sindwa Ghaut on the 17th of last November. There is further great suspicion of preconcert and complicity with Kajee Sing gang.

2. There is also little doubt that the treasure recovered by Captain Birch as reported in my letter above quoted, is part of the same that is to say, bars of silver and five frame pieces were the component parts of both."

STATEMENT ON SINDWA GHAUT TREASURE PLUNDER

Statement of Devee Sing, Jamedar of the Convoy Sepoys in the employ of Goorsabmal Ghunasham :—

"About 300 Bheels came near the Jamlee Chowkee, and surrounded the carts. Firing was kept up for an hour. Bheels were kept off.

When they did not retreat Chutter Bhooj Bummiat, Deegraj Bummiat went to the Bheels. Then Deegraj returned and began to say that he thought there was disturbance and they would deal treacherously. Chuttur Bhooj took Kajee Naik by the hand and said to Sepoys that the Naik had come to take care of the carts, and told them to keep off. The sepoys retreated. The Bheels all came and began to plunder, there was no more fighting. When the Bheels began to plunder the convoy sepoys did the same. Those who had regard for their reputation looked after their own bundles, those who had no reputation took Rupees and silver. Then they came to Julwana, and Buggoo Sing Jamedar searched them. When Rupees and silver were found on the sepoys he imprisoned them. There is a Brahmin by name Sinbux. He sent me the convoy. We are here ten men present. I don't know who the other sepoys are. There are about two hundred men, and many unemployed men. No property was found on me. I do not know the Hoondee Wala's name. But we engaged 50 men in Seerpoor. I don't know for certain, but men from Seerpoor were with us. They are from Marwar, but were engaged at Seerpoor. I did not see any one bring money in the jungle and among my men money was found on Lalla Maratha and Purrunsook."

DISTURBANCES BY KHANDESH BHILS

(A Minute by Elphistone)

P. D. Vol. 24 of 1858, pages 9 to 11.

Minute.—(On letter No. 148 of 15th March 1858, para. 3). "It is an object of paramount importance to crush this dangerous Coalition of Wylayties (for I take it that the Arabs and Mekranees referred to in Mr. Mansfield's letter are the remains of the Dhar and Mundipur insurgents) and of Bheels. So important do I consider it that I should not hesitate to adopt the measure suggested by Mansfield, viz., to detain a way of Hills 71st H. Lt. Inf. 7 now on their way to Mhow, if no other means can be found for reinforcing the column of native troops now employed in Khandesh.

But we must also remember that Mhow is a most important point. Looking to the not improbable contingency of a body of mutineers either from Kota or Jhansi or any place to the northward, making for the south that it should be held in strength. Holkar's mutinous troops though disbanded have generally escaped without further punishment. I have no doubt that large number of them are still at Indore and in its neighbourhood. Here there is the place where the

Jhansi and Kota rebels would find friends and sympathisers. In the neighbourhood, there must be many discontented people, the retainers of forfeited states of Dhar and I think it most important that the force at Mhow should be sufficient to overcome these malcontents and if they commit any act of insurrection to punish them in the most summary manner.

I am, therefore, unwilling, if it can be avoided, to detain any portion of the 71st of Sindwa, even for a short time. I would, therefore, recommend that in the first place Mr. Mansfield's letter be sent to the Commander-in-chief and that H. E. be requested to state if he can suggest any other means by which the force now on duty against the Bheels can be increased, and if not, if he considers that there would be any serious objection, bearing in mind the opinion expressed by Mr. Mansfield on the climate of Sindwa at this season, to the detention in that locality of a wing of the 71st for a fortnight or three weeks."

DISTURBANCES BY KHANDESH BHILS

(A Minute by Elphinstone)

(Pages 285-295, No. 6511)

Minute.—"The efforts of the local authorities in Khandesh and Ahmednugger aided in the latter collectorate (or perhaps I should say superceded) by the dispatch of troops from Bombay and Poona have hitherto failed to put down the Bheel risings. The later accounts mention the plunder of villages, and of whole convoy of carts upon the high road to Mhow. One of these which was robbed on the 7th inst. consisted of sixty carts laden with opium. Each cart contains four chests. The value of the plunder therefore must have been nearly two lakhs of rupees. These carts were guarded or at least attended by one hundred peons — five of whom were wounded by the Bheels. The whole of them ran away leaving the carts to be plundered. Mr. Mansfield mentions that several other convoys of carts had been looted in the same locality.

The Nassik and Sinner Bheels under the Bhagojee Naik are said to have got in the hills in the neighbourhood of Khandesh. The following extract from a letter which I lately received from Mr. Mansfield shows the extent of the insurrection on Khandesh and also that there is no one on the spot who is capable of taking the direction of the campaign which must be carried on in order to support it.

"This state of things is *most serious.* There are six Naiks in this neighbourhood whose followers number upwards of two thousand. There is another body of equal number just above the Sindwa Ghaut plundering and robbing every body they can lay hold of. There are several bands in the hills bordering on Sooltanpore and before long I think the whole of the Hill Bheels from Barwapore and to Boorhanpore a distance of about 150 miles will be up. It is impossible to foresee the effect of these risings of the Bheels inhabiting the plains. They are generally a quiet inoffensive lot engaged in agricultural labours, but of course they have unquiet spirits among them, and I should not be surprised to hear of bands collecting for plunder."

YAWAL BHEELS' DISTURBANCE

(Pages 623 to 629, P. D. Volume 25 of 1858)

Khandesh Magistrate states that atrocities of Parsi Foujdar of Yawal moved the Bheels to rise in rebellion.

In Letter No. 604 of 1858, Mr. Mansfield, Magistrate of Khandesh, writes to Mr. Bettington, Commissioner of Police, about the misbehaviour of Parsi Foujdar of Yawal in regard to the specific charge of having cruelly and brutally mal-treated certain Bheel women and also about his general opressive conduct. He writes that he was informed by a Native officer that certain Bheels stated that the tortures practised by the Foujdar of Yawal had driven them into insurrection.

YAWAL BHEELS TRIAL AND SENTENCE

(Page 39 P. D. Volume 37 of 1858)

Summary of a letter No. 691 of 1858 from Major Kaselwood and Captain H. Birch, Commissioners, to H. L. Anderson, Esquire, Secretary to Government of Bombay, dated 18th October 1858 :—

It is reported in the letter that 13 prisoners (Nahal and Turvee Bheels) concerned in the depradations of the Yawal talooka have been tried for treason and two of them sentenced to death and others transportation for life.

NAGAR BHELLS AND BRITISH ENCOUNTER

(Pages 539-544, Volume 21 of 1858)

Extracts from letter No. 144 of 1858 from S. Mansfield, Esquire, Magistrate of Khandesh, to H. L. Anderson, Esquire, Secretary to Government, Secret Department, Bombay :—

Dated 25th January 1858.

"Sir,

I have the honour to forward for the information of His Lordship in Council a copy of a demi-official letter from my first Adjutant Mr. Neave giving an account of the disastrous affairs which occurred on the borders of the Khandesh and Nugar collectorates."

"In letter dated January 21st, 1858, Nandgaum, Mr. Neave writes in detail about the encounter with Bheels on the 20th January which ended in failing to drive the Bheels out of their position."

"Lieut. Stuart with 200 foot and 50 sowars and Captain Montgomery and Thatcher with 50 men of the 19th under Lieut. Fairbrother, jointly made an attack on Bheels as they received a report that Bheels had collected in the neighbourhood of Nandgaum."

"The Bheels who numbered about 400 had taken up a very strong position in the bed of a river under cover of thick bushes, trees and poured in most deadly fire. Captain Montgomery was wounded in the first attack. Great many sepoys were knocked down in the second attack. Lieuts. Chamberlayne and Davidson of the 20th came up with 150 men and some sowars with rifles and third attack was made in which Lieuts. Chamberlayne, Stuart and Davidson were wounded. Therefore they withdrew. Lieut. Stuart died on 21st. Nearly 50 of the men of the 6th Aurangabad, 26th Co and 19th were killed and wounded. Among Bheels 25 were killed."

TRIALS OF BHEELS—NAGAR DISTRICT

(Pages 57 and 76, P. D. Volume 35 of 1858)

Prisoner—

1. Jairam Wullud Sheevram.

2. Jairam Wullud Rama.
3. Tulpea Wullud Bahiroo.

Judgement.—"In passing sentence the Court is thrown back as stated in the Government Resolution recorded above on regulation XIV section XII of 1827 which states that the punishment for treason shall be death and confiscation of property.

"This sentence the court are constrained by law to Pass, but they do so in the full confidence that Government will transmute it into transportation for life."

MAHADEO DONGUR BHEELS ATTACKED

(P. D. Volume 23 of 1858, pp. 181-182)

Extracts from a letter from the Commissioner of Police to the Secretary to Government, S. S., Bombay—regarding Hurgee Naique and Puttojee Naique being attacked by Capt. Nuttall :—

"On the morning of the 19th the detachment commanded by Captain Pottinger and the Kolee levy by Captain Muttall attacked the insurgent Bheels under Hurgee Naique and Puttojee Naique in the hills East of Mahadeo dongur. Killed thirty (30)/number of wounded not specified/took six prisoners and a number of women. The Bund has dispersed and left all their baggage behind. The loss on our side being only one killed and three wounded. It appears probable that Captain Pottinger was able to bring the mountain howitzors into action."

BHEEL NAIK PUTTOGEE SURRENDERS

(Pages 459-464, P. D. Volume 25 of 1858)

In letter No. 17 of 1858 from Assistant Magistrate Mr. C. Gonee to the Magistrate of Poona, Mr. Duncan Davidson, dated 8th April 1857, the information regarding the surrender of Bheel Naik Puttogee is given.

In para. 4 he writes "Having promised to be advocate of Puttogee, I feel I may urge considerations which I would otherwise not presume to mention. I am not certain that any overt act of rebellion can be judicially proved against him, though he has undoubtedly displayed an attitude hostile to government. But he is an old man and too old to hand and too old to be an active rebel

leader." He is pleading the case of Puttogee and expresses his view that Puttogee should not be executed and others also might be influenced to surrender.

BHEEL 'BAND'—NUGAR

(P. D. Volume 21 of 1858, pp. 3, 4, 5, 6)

A letter from the Quarter Master General of the Army to H. L. Anderson, Secretary to Government, Secret Department, Bombay, dated 23rd January 1858 :—

Sir,

In my letter No. 224, dated 12 instant, I had the honour by desire of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to submit to Government what appeared to his Excellency to be the best means of proceeding to supress the Bheel bunds on the Northern border of Khandesh in the Sautpoora range.....

4. It would be superfluous to recapitulate what has taken place in its Western districts of Nassik and Sinner where the Bheel bunds recently ravaging them under Bhagojee Naik have been severely handled and checked by combined forces of Regular and Police.

5. The Eastern portion of the Zilla is especially the subject of present report and for its protection it is necessary to adopt immediate measures.

7. Its hills and jungly character enables a small body to elude and if needs be await the attack of weak detachments of Troops with every hope of success.

8. Yesterday's Telegraph brought but an imperfect account of the serious conflict that had taken place on previous day between a small body of native Infantry and Police on one side and 400 Bheels from the Nizam's country on the other, but considering this with other daring attempts in the same quarter the necessity of adopting strong and immediate measures to punish and check the marauders is evident.

9. The officers wounded in that affair have been removed to Malligaum and Lieut. Thatcher with a small force is now posted in the neighbourhood of Munwar holding the Bheels in check

as well as he can.

10. The Commander-in-Chief considers it best at once to appoint an officer to the special command of the military operations that may be necessary during the next five months to preserve the Naggur Zilla from the inroads of marauders generally, and with the sanction of Government he proposes to appoint Captain Pottinger of the artillery to this duty.

11. The Eastern border just described being the quarter in most imminent danger at this moment it is proposed to order Captain Pottinger to Munwar at once for the purpose of assuring the direction of operations at that point."

BHAGOJEE NAIK AT NANDOOR

(P. D. Volume 28 of 1858)

Summary of report of Lieut. Thatcher, Assistant Superintendent of Police, regarding the fight with the Bheels in front of the village of Nandoor Singotch :—

Bhagojee Naik who had risen against British Government in Khandesh, in collaboration with Kajee Sing, was heard of near Nandoor. On getting this information Lieut. Thatcher immediately demanded help from neighbourhood areas, and Captain Henry and Mr. Alexander Taylor joined him. Captain Henry took charge of the force and without listening to any advice determined to charge on Bhagojee Naik. Mr. Thatcher in his statement says, " My advice is to wait until reenforcement by Mr. Carr, and the Thanna party will go and get above them ". But Captain Henry did not listen to this advice. He ordered Lieut. Thatcher to charge with him on Bhagojee Naik. In this skirmish Captain Henry died of wounds. In this battle no decisive result occurred. Again Lieut. Thatcher remarks in his report, " Before concluding this statement I feel it only due to myself to state that the attack was made against overwhelming number ; that I strongly dissuaded Lieutenant Henry from making it, and that the position of the enemy in a military point of view was as strong as could be conceived ". Mr. A. L. Taylor in his statements concurs with the statement of Lieut. Thatcher. Only thing that he added is that at the end the enemy's position was completely taken.

"DECCAN STATES WERE RIPE FOR REBELLION"

[Rulers of Indian States which had been permitted by the grace of British Conquerors to continue to exist in a position of subordination to the paramount power could not, in the nature of things, join in the rebellion of 1857 immediately after its outbreak. But there seems to have been a strong undercurrent of sympathy for that stirring adventure in the minds of many rulers and several of them were inclined to stand on the fence, watching the course of events as it was rapidly developing. British authorities were not unaware of this uncertain attitude and looked upon the activities even of Rajas who were known to be their allies viz., those of Gwalior, Baroda and Indore with cautious suspicion. About the Southern Maratha country Sir John Kaye has distinctly stated that 'princes and nobles were alike ripe for rebellion.' (Vol. I, p. 578). Many Deccan States were affected by events taking place in North India. The Raja of Satara and Chimasaheb of Kolhapur whose loyalty was suspected were sent out of their territories under British orders. Sholapur, Nargund and Jamkhandi appear to have been plotting from the beginning. Raja Venkappa of Shorapur, in the course of his statement made before Captain Medows Taylor gave names of persons who had encouraged and supported him in his attempted insurrection and they included names of the Rajas of Mudhol, Miraj and Jamkhandi. The emissaries of Jamkhandi, one of whom was reported to be a high ranking officer and the other was Chhotusing, the Raja's Commander, were tried and blown off from guns at Belgaum. Nothing however could be proved against the Raja himself in spite of an elaborate inquiry and he was freed from confinement after a long period.]

JAMKHINDI RAJA—NO LONGER SAFE

[P. D. Vol. 28 of 1858, pp. 239 to 264, 265 to 268]

(Extract from a letter from Assistant Political Agent's office to G. B. Seton Karr, dated 17th March 1858)

"I have now given a sort of journal of my proceedings and sincerely hope they may meet with your approval. It is a most serious matter. I have been endeavouring to unravel and to the best of my judgment I come to this verdict, viz., that the chief of Jamkheendee has not by his conduct done a single act showing a *bona fide* intention to advance my enquiry and so assist me in relieving his name from the dangerous memory which assails it. On the contrary in the absence of satisfactory explanation as to ammunition, and viewing his

whole conduct, I am wholly unable to certify that this chief served with "fidelity and attachment (as required by the Treaty on which he holds his jageer) to the Government, during the critical period for Englishmen in Belgaum, last rains. I regard his doings during the months of August, September and October as decidedly colourable and consider that it is no longer safe to entrust him with the preservation of the peace within his jageer".

LORD ELPHINSTONE ON JAMKHINDI RAJA'S COMPLICITY

(Pages 235-236)

Lord Elphinstone's memo. regarding Jamkhindee chief states :—

The Chief of Jamkhindee appears to have been enacting upon a small scale the same part which was played by the Nawab of Kurnool in 1840.

The Nawab's treasonable intentions were considered to be sufficiently proved by the secrecy with which he had accumulated a great quantity of stores and ammunition and by his denial and attempt at concealment and his estate (which was worth 90 lakhs and was still more valuable) was confiscated. I doubt whether we shall get any more evidence against the Jamkhindeekur unless some should be forthcoming."

RAJA OF JAMKHINDEE MADE A STATE PRISONER

(P. D. Vol. 27 of 1858, p. 291)

The letter from Political Agent G. B. Sexton Karr, dated 20th March 1858, states :—

1. "The chief of Jamkhindee is a state prisoner and is not to be allowed to communicate with any one but his attendants and civil guard."

THE CASE OF TORGUL CHIEF

(Pages 113-121, P. D. Volume 33 of 1858)

Extracts from letter Nos. 40 of 1858 from Captain F. Schneider, Acting Political Agent, S.M.C. to Colonel Le Grand Jacob, Special Commissioner, Kolhapoor :—

Political Agent's Office,
Nurgoond, 24th July 1858.

"Sir,

I have the honour to submit for your consideration the case of the Torgul Chief now residing at Belgaum under the surveillance of the Police.

2. You have already been made aware of Mr. Sonters' report No. 109, dated 8th ultimo with its accompaniment of the circumstances which he considered to be of a sufficiently suspicious nature to warrant his bringing the chief into Belgaum. They were as follows:—

1. A horse belonging to a sowar by name Bawajee Jugtap who had escaped with Baba Saheb from Nurgoond, was found during the pursuit of the latter in his private stable thereby leading to the supposition that he (the chief) was knowingly harbouring some of the rebels.

2. Baba Saheb and his followers being caught so near Torgul, there was reason to suppose that he must have been aware of their being concealed in his estate, especially as Bawaji Jugtap, one of the party which left Nurgoond with Baba Saheb, and whose horse was found in the private stable, was arrested in Torgul.

3. The statements of two of the prisoners arrested with Baba Sahib that he (the Torgul Chief) had promised to join the Rebellion with 1000 followers.

3. The above were the grounds for bringing the chief to Belgaum and the following was an additional reason for keeping him there viz.

That Baba Sahib, Chief of Nurgoond deposed in his statement to having, while passing near Torgul on his return from a visit to

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Jumkhandee, had an interview with the chief, in the course of which he invited him to join in the rebellion he was about to raise, but that he refused, and that consequently, if such statement proved true, he (the Torgul Chief) had been guilty of concealing information of an intended rebellion.

4. As regards the presence of the horse in his private stable, the chief stated in reply to my question that Narain Rao Jagtap a Silledar in his service came to him on the day the chief of Nurgoond was seized, and reported that his nephew Bawajee Jagtap's horse had come in and that he (the chief) had caused the animal to be brought and pocketed in his stable, and at the same time ordered a report to be made to the Police officer of Kurkole. He also states that he knows nothing of Bawajee Jagtap's arrival in Torgul. I do not see any reason to doubt the truth of this explanation as Bawajee Jagtap himself corroborates it. He states that he forwarded his horse by the hand of a third party to his uncle's house in Torgul, and affirms, that he does not know how it came into the chief's hands and further, that he did not make his own return to Torgul, known to the chief.

7. The last point is denied by the chief altogether. He admits that he met and conversed with the Nurgoondkur on the occasion mentioned by the latter, but distinctly stated that the subject of an intended rebellion formed no part of the conversation. As there was no one else by at this time, it is impossible to say which statement is correct, that of the Nurgoondkur or the Torgulkur, but I am inclined to believe the former. There is however no proof and consequently it is impossible to bring home to him the charge, which would in that case have laid against him of "concealment of an intended rebellion."

In his letter, dated 27th July, 1858, Colonel Le Grand Jacob writes to A. D. Robertson, Political Superintendent, Kolhapur, and gives instructions to allow the Torgul chief to return home with a solemn warning.

CONFESSION OF MAHIPALSING

[The statement of Mahipalsing, the much talked of emissary in connection with the rebellions in the S. M. Country is given here fully, not because it contains any particular valuable information but because references contained in it may be helpful in assessing statements about the event made elsewhere.]

(P. D. Vol. 25 of 1857—pp. 417-430)

Translation of a statement made before T. H. Souter, Esquire, Superintendent of Police, Belgaum, by Maypal Sing bin Jawahar Sing, aged about 35, describing himself as a Kshetree Pardaisee, formerly of Bujora in the Banda Ilaka of the Bengal Presidency, and late a resident of Bedurn Sorapur, the territory of Venkutuppa Naik in the Nizam's dominion—dated, 14th August 1857, the day of his execution :—

"About a year ago I was discharged from the Thugee Department. I had been sick for some time previously and had gone to Jubbalpore. I then tried to get employment in the (Belgaum) Police but failed. I then went to Jumkhindee to Sirdar Chote Sing and asked for service, but he did not employ me. I did not see Appa Saheb (the chief) at Jumkhindee. I then went to Sorapore and lodged there at the Kutcherry by the side of Captain Taylor's Bungalow. On the 2nd day after my arrival some Beruds and Rohillas who had been located in the same Kutcherry proceeded towards Lokapullee. Two or three days after this two or three men arrived from Moodgul and lodged with me. We all remained there for about 20 or 21 days. I then called on Keshaw Rao the Brahmin Vuzeer of the Raja of Sorapore. On my asking for employment he said "well, you will get it, as Rohillas, Arabs, Pathans, Purdaisees and others are being entertained here". On my representing that I had nothing to eat Keshew Rao sent an order on the Kothee (granary) of the Raja for the issue to me of Shida (rations). I accordingly received daily for about a week a quantity of floor, dal, ghee etc. I was then introduced by the Vazeer to the Raja who appointed me to a Sepoy's place on a fixed salary of Narayan Paithee 7 Rupees per mensem. After having served for about a month the Raja one day spoke to me as follows :—

"The British Government has taken possession of a portion of the Nawab's territory yielding a revenue of 52 lacs of Rupees and receives tribute of which the Nuwab makes me pay 3 Lacs of Rupees. For the purpose of getting back this territory and of causing injury to the Ranee of Lokapallee by plundering and burning in her.....territory in retaliation for her having pillaged and burnt 2 or 3 of my villages, I sent my brother-in-law Kothoo Samee who lives at this place with a force. He proceeded into the Ranee's territory but did not succeed. In consequence of his unsuccessful return I divested him of the office of Vuzeer and conferred it on the present incumbent Keshaw Rao. For these reasons, and because of the commotion in Hindustan and of the Padsha having re-established his authority in Dehli, and of this having been proclaimed throughout the country,

the Hyderabad Nawab has received a communication to that effect, and has communicated the same to me and others in similar positions, ordering us all to have forces ready in all directions. I have therefore entertained about 600 Arabs, 400 Rohillas, and 50 Pardaisees. I have posted on one side of my palace a party of 40 or 50 Rohillas; on the other a party of 40 or 50 Rohillas and Arabs under the command of Sirdar Venkunna. On the other two sides are two parties under the command of the Mogul Sirdar Ahmedbeg who has a Jhageer of 12,000 Rupees. One party is composed of about 150 Rohillas and Arabs, and the other of 25 Rohillas. Besides there are 20 or 25 Rohillas occupying the Bungalow of Captain Taylor. These men are posted in all directions. On a former occasion when Captain Balmain heard of my having entertained Rohillas and Arabs for warfare, he sent me an order prohibiting my doing so, and directing me to dismiss all the men, I had employed. I therefore concealed them in small parties in the different villages but they were not discharged as ordered". With the exception of the last statement which I heard from other people, all the rest of the above was told me by the Raja himself. He further said " as you are come up from Belgaum you are acquainted with the place. You had better go there and enquire into and ascertain the State of English Durbar. You will visit the Pardaisees of your acquaintance in the Regiments and sound their intention in a clever way, and incite them to mutiny, and when you have succeeded in this you may bring them here. You will send me an intimation of your success by a Sowar whom I shall despatch 15 or 20 days after your departure from this. He will alight in front of the gate of the Fort". The Raja then pointed out to me a Sowar mounted on a white horse. I spoke to him and desired him to alight (at Belgaum) in front of the gate of the Fort, where I told him I should come and give him news. Before my departure the Raja also said to me that should the Regiments mutiny he would assign them a portion of territory and protect their interests and that he would himself join them in Belgaum. On my mentioning that I had nothing to defray my expenses he gave me 5 Rupees. I accordingly left for Belgaum in the capacity of his agent. For 8 days after my arrival at Belgaum the Pardesees and Mahommedans of the two Regiments called on me in the town and told me freely that should any of the towns people rise, they would at once join them, and plunder the treasure, and seize the artillery and destroy all the Europeans. They said that if they got the assistance of any one they would all readily join his standard and that they had accordingly opened a negotiation with the Shapoorkur, but the latter had charged his course and disclosed their secret to the Government authorities. The treasury and the artillery they said had been renewed into the Fort where all the forces have also taken refuge. They further said the opportunity had been lost, but

should anything now turn out favourable they would first murder the Shaporkar and then do the other work. They said that their plan which they had arranged to accomplish in the course of a day or two had been totally departed by the removal of the Treasury and Artilarry into the Fort. The above statement having inspired me with full confidence that the Regiment would mutiny, I proceeded on the 9th day to the lines and while speaking to Deweedeen Kamadar and others, I was apprehended. The Sepoys said to me that Government have no confidence in the Regiment—that they consider them their enemies and had endeavoured to take away their ammunition, but that they refused to give it up and that if they now insisted on taking it away or annoyed them in any way they would mutiny at once. This inspired me with full confidence. I accordingly by the day before yesterday went to lines to speak to the men and while speaking to them I was apprehended. What I have above related was said to me by all the Pardaisees and Mahommedans. I am unable to name any particular person. If they were only one or two I could name them. How could I have ventured to go into the lines to tamper with the men if they had not made the aforesaid statement to me. When the Jamadar Deweedeen commenced speaking with me on the subject of a meeting I disclosed to him my mind. As I am acting under the direction of another, I pray that Government will extend mercy to me. When coming from Shorapore to Belgaum I met the two companies of the 19th Regi (= he alludes to the 29th and 15th) ment of the road near Mareehal, I tried to speak with the Soobhedar Thakoor Sing who is an acquaintance of mine, but I got no opportunity. My object in wishing to speak with him was to sound his mind and to talk on the subject of my commission, but I found no opportunity. I then arrived at Belgaum. The Sowar who I stated above would come from the Raja of Sorapore to get news from me has not yet arrived but he will certainly come. He will come through Moodebehal, Begaljote, and Kaludgee. Should he happen to hear of my apprehension here he will not come. It is most likely that he may have left Sorapore ere this.

Dated 14th August 1857.

Mark of a dagger made by Muypal Sing bin Jawaher Sing.

Question.—Which of the towns people intended to take part in the insurrection ?

Answer.—I do not know that any of the Towns people intended to join in the insurrection nor do I know of any plot between the inhabitants and the troops.

Question.—Has the Sorapore Raja sent other people for the purpose of tampering with the men of the Regiment located at other places in like manner as he has sent you here ?

Answer.—The Raja did not inform me of his having done so nor have I heard so.

Question.—Has the Sorapore Raja desired you to go to other stations for the purpose of tampering with the men of the Regiments after you had succeeded or failed in sending the men here ?

Answer.—The Raja has not ordered me to go to any other station ; but on my arrival here I heard the men of the Regiments here say that the men of the Dharwar Regiment are to mutiny also that the men of the Kolapoor Regiment have already mutinied and seized the Treasury, and that all the Regiments will mutiny. They have not informed me nor have I heard of any letters, messengers, etc., having been received from or sent to these stations.

Question.—Has the Sorapore Raja, or have the men of the Regiments here resolved on a certain day for the general rising ?

Answer.—No day had been resolved on for this purpose but they all resolved to rise after the same thing has been done elsewhere. They are still disposed to break out into rebellion.

Dated 14th August 1857.

Mark of a dagger made by Muypal Sing bin Jawaher Sing.

States further—The aforesaid Sowar who was to come here to get information from me told me that he had had two strong brothers who had been apprehended by Government in Shorapoor for rebellion, that one of them had been hanged and the other had died in prison. He did not mention to me where, when or what kind of rebellion they had raised.

Dated 14th August 1857.

Mark of a dagger made by Muypal Sing bin Jawaher Sing.

True Translation,

G. B. Setonkarr,
Magistrate and Political Agent, Sine.

HULGALLY-BERADS RESIST DISARMING

[Government order to disarm the people was very much disliked by all but very few revolted against that policy. The Girijans or hill tribes were prominent amongst the resisters. During the days of the convulsion of 1857 these tribes, particularly those on Gujarat borders and in the hilly tracts of Maharastra, tried to help rebel leaders. They also stoutly resisted the orders for their disarmament and at a few places they were barbarously suppressed. For instance, in a few villages in Mahikantha a few villages were burnt. In the Dubhora village, in Gaikwad territory, all the 800 houses were destroyed. In Hulgally, a small village in the old Mudhol state now in Mysore, the Berads (a backward community) gave a determined fight and an officer like Lieut. Kerr resorted to the same policy of setting fire to their houses. Bodhani, Mantur and Algundi were the other Berad villages which had joined Hulgally in this resistance. After trial 19 leaders were hanged on the spot where the trial was held, 13 were hanged at Mudhol on the bazar day (11th December) and 6 at Hulgully.]

THE STORY OF BERUD REVOLT AT HULGULLY

(P. D. Volume 24 of 1857, pages 257 to 295)

Political Agent's Report

A letter from G. B. Seton Kerr, Political Agent—Magistrate of Belgaum, to H. L. Anderson, Secretary to the Government of Bombay, dated 15th December 1857 :—

"2. The insurrection seems to me to have arisen from several causes, the first of which is an (idea), now become somewhat prevalent, that the English Government can be opposed successfully. The retention of arms by the Berud tribe, the desire of retaining them, the intrigues of certain disaffected parties, and the manner in which the late Raja and the Moodhole authorities have given way for a series of years to the Hulgulee Beruds, have also contributed to the recent outbreak. The immediate cause of it was the order given to the Hulgulee people to register their arms, an order which they knew was the precursor of another for the surrender of arms by all who might not receive a license to retain them.

3. Instructions regarding the registry of arms in the State of Moodhole and that no person is allowed to retain arms without

a license were issued in October and by the 10th November the measures had been carried in few villages. With regard to Hulgullee the carbharee states that he knew the Beruds at that village to be a turbulent and unruly set, and before issuing any order he therefore sent on the 11th November for Berud Jamadar of the village and gave him an arm license for himself and was told to send the same to all Sundees in the same manner with the arms to have them registered and licenses given. None of them came.

On the 15th of November the Carbharee sent a Carcoon named Ram Rao Bhoojung to order the Sundees to come with their arms to Mudhol for registry. But the office stated that they neither would have their arms registered nor allow any of Bekaree Beruds to be disarmed, also they were behaving in a turbulent manner.

After this for 5 or 6 days Carbharee did not take further notice of the Hulgullee people. On 20th—21st, the Carbharee sent for Nerappa Naik of Hulgullee and came to know that Beruds of his village had determined not to submit for registry and also they had all assembled in the village in a riotous manner.

On 22nd Carbharee sent Bheem Rao Anant Gharpurre, a Mankurree of the Raja, with two other Marattas and Naro Ramchandra Potnees, to Hulgullee, to endeavour to bring the Beruds to reason and ask them to represent the reasons of the objection to registry in Mudhol Cutcherry.

Bheem Rao was so opposed in the village that the Beruds threatened him to death, but in the end they thrust him out of village. On next day morning Appa Arekuree was sent to Hulgullee but Gudgia Jemadar and about two hundred Beruds treated him much in the same way as they treated Bheem Rao. On 24th and 25th Bheem Rao, the Bukshee and the Potnees were to settle the problem but found all their efforts were useless. They came back to Mudhol and reported all to the Carbharee. He sent Veerhumma Naik of Bhuntnoore to see if he could tranquillise the riotors. But the result was the same.

On 27th a message came to Carbharee from Lieut. Colonel Malcom that he had heard from Mr. W. H. Stavelock regarding Bund or arm assemblage at Hulgullee. The people there had decided not to register the arms.

The Carbharee also learnt on the same day that the Sundees of Boodnee and Muntoor had joined those of Hullogullee and he

reported the fact to Lieut-Colonel Malcolm adding that Algoondee Beruds had also gone to Hulgullee and that he could not ascertain their intention for they would not admit his agents.

The old servants of the state advised the Carbharee not to do any thing but to wait for assistance. So on 29th, the orders were issued regarding the registry to be insisted on. In the meantime Lieut. Kerr with the Bijapoore Detachment of the Southern Maratha Horse, approached Hulagullee immediately attacked by the insurgents.

At day break on the morning of the 30th, Lieut. and Adjutant La Touch reinforced Lieut. Kerr with 160 men and insurgents were then driven from the hills on the North West into the village with considerable loss. Shortly after this Lieut. Colonel Malcolm, in company with Mr. W. H. Havelock the 1st Assistant Magistrate reached the scene of action and took command. He dismounted a few sowars to occupy a ruined tower commanding the West side of the village from the North and others advanced over the tops of the houses. Some of 28 Regiment N. I. (part of Bagulkote Detachment) now arrived and the entire village was soon in Lieut. Colonel Malcolm's possession. That officer then went in pursuit of the flying insurgents, and whilst absent his picket in the centre of the village was suddenly attacked by insurgents who had remained concealed and Lieut. Kerr in consequence of this set fire to the village as the only way to clear it.

4. After scouring the hills for about 6 miles and finding nobody of the insurgents, Lieut. Colonel Malcolm returned to Hulgullee and then to Kaludgee, having taken about 290 prisoners. The force engaged under him was as follows :—

106 Sabres S. M. Horse from Bejapoor under Lieut. Kerr.

160 Sabres S. M. Horse from Kaludgee under Lieut. La Touch.

60 Rank and File 28th N. I. under Lieut. Duncan.

His casualties were one Sowar, killed one Resaldar and eight sowars S. M. Horse and two privates 28th N. I. wounded—some severely. Of the insurgents Lieut. Colonel Malcolm supposes that about one hundred were killed. I believe the total killed and wounded would probably fall considerably short of that. The number of corpses found of the Beruds killed in the action amounts to thirty. I regret to say that twenty-three unfortunate men amongst the

insurgents were accidently burnt to death among some cotton sticks into which it is supposed they had gone for concealment.

The prompt suppression of this rising has had an excellent effect throughout the country and after hostilities had once commenced had less vigour been displayed or less success obtained there is very little doubt that in forty-eight hours the number of the insurgents would have amounted to several thousands. At the time of the attack there were certainly not fewer than five hundred men in arms against us.

Of the Prisoners that have been taken I have caused nineteen to be tried by Court martial. They were selected as the chief actors and agents in the insurrection. They were all found guilty and sentenced to death and the sentence has been carried into effect. Thirteen were executed at Moodhole on Friday the 11th instant, being the weekly bazar day, in the presence of a large concourse of spectators and the other six at Hulgullee on Monday the 14th. A Maratha named Babajee *bin* Sovajee Nimbalkar who was the chief instigator and the agent of other persons in this affair was killed in the fight and some of the other principal insurgents have escaped. Active search is being made for them, but I suspect they have found shelter in the Berud country of Sorapoor.

The severe handling of the insurgents by Liet. Colonel Malcolm's Horse and the execution of the chief persons amongst the prisoners having affected quite sufficient in the way of example any further severity towards the ignorant and misguided men who formed the mass of the insurgents is in my humble opinion unnecessary, and would I also think in this case be impolite. I have therefore released the rest of the prisoners and placed them in their own villages, adopting precautions at the same time for their supervision."

RISING OF BERADS IN MUDHOL

Substance of the notes from Shri Biniwala's (Sangli) Diary, dated the 6th December and 9th December 1857

By November 1857, the British Government issued orders that arms should be submitted to Government without fail. Those deserving in the eyes of the Government would be given a licence and their arms would be returned. The orders came to Mudhol, as they did elsewhere. The Karbhari Krishnarao, thereon circulated those orders throughout the Mudhol State. The Gentry at Mudhol thought it

beneath their dignity to submit their arms to Government, and hence with a determined mind, they gathered in a mass, some two miles away from Mudhol and continued there for three days and more.

News spread from mouth to mouth and the Berads of Halagali in the Mudhol State took it into their head to follow the example of the Mudhol Gentry. The Berads had Sanads for their lands. The Karabhari, therefore, summoned a leader of the Berads, explained to him the intention of the Government, gave him a licence and returned his arms to him. The Karbhari also requested the leader to guide his brothers. He, in his own way, tried but he was condemned for being unfaithful to his tribe and was boycotted. They did not stop at this. They chose some four or five wise heads from amongst themselves and sent them for a propaganda from village to village. The propaganda had its effect. Some five hundred Berads gathered at Halagli in protest of the new orders. The Karbhari was at a loss to understand how to handle the situation. He therefore reported to Mr. Kerr the political agent who in his turn wrote to Bijapur to send regiments to Halgali just to crush the rebellion. He, however, had instructed that the head of the regiment should, before taking any harsh steps, try to pacify the mob by smooth advice. The head of the military did accordingly, but the Berads were as firm as a rock. Instead of giving a patient ear to what the officers requested, the Berads injured some four horses of the regiment. The men of the military then not knowing what dangers they would be required to face under the darkness of night left the situation. But at about half past one in the night, when everything seemed quiet, they re-entered Halgali with two hundred Horse and firing in the air, they tried to create a kind of terror. The village was rounded up under the eye of Mr. Kerr himself. Soldiers entered the village and tried to shoot him who came in their way. Some one hundred and fifty Berads were done to death. The mob began to disperse. Many a Berad tried to hide himself behind closed doors. The soldiers tried to burn the houses even. All the Berads then submitted. Those that had tried to run away, were ordered to be arrested. All this scene had the desired effect. The Berads submitted their arms. The Kitturkar Desais who seem to have encouraged the Berads were also taken to task and punished. The culprits from the Berads themselves were given rigorous punishments. Their leaders were caught hold of before the end of the first week in December 1857 and were shot dead.

On receiving the news of what had happened at Halgali, the Gentry of Mudhol, on strike against the new orders, quitely surrendered their arms to Government.

Translation of Deposition of Sheikh Chand W. Sheikh Yessein, Caste Mussalman, age 25 years, Inhabitant of Khurda, now resident of Beer

(P. D. Vol. II, 58 of 1859, pages 197 to 220)

Question.—What is the reason for the dispute that took place between yourself and Sheikh Rassul Rohilla ? State the correct cause ?

Answer.—I was informed by Shankarbhaoo Brahmin, residing in Dhondipura in town of Bheer, that he was a servant of Peshwa Dhondo Baji Rao, that he had obtained permission to keep a force and on that account he would employ men ; that if I took employment under him, Rs. 15 would be paid to each foot soldier and Rs. 30 to each Sowar. On this I took employment as a foot soldier. Rusool Khan was there at the time and Shanker Bhaoo asked him to employ 100 Rohillas on his part. Russool Khan consented to this. It is now a month since the above occurred. Shanker Punt had fled, and the Rohillas were pressing me to bring him, and having found me they beat me.

Question.—Shanker Pant kept a force ; whom did he employ, and who were his advisers ?

Answer.—He did not employ men in my presence ; but the son Hafizjee named Papa Mean and Russool Khan Rohilla were the advisers. I cannot state what force was employed through their means.

Question.—What time has elapsed since Shanker Punt commenced these proceedings, and did he give Rusool Khan and others any money for expense ?

Answer.—I am aware of these proceedings since the last two months. Nothing for expense was given to the Rohillas etc. but Rs. 6 were given for my personal expense.

Question.—You state above that you were on the eve of taking service, but on what date is not stated. You now state that Rs. 6 were given for expense ; how was the money given ?

Answer.—Shanker Punt told me that the Rupees 6 were given as

an advance, and that when I took service more money would be granted for my subsistance.

Question.—To what place did Shanker Punt intend taking his force ?

Answer.—He said that they were to assemble at Mouza Manjirsoom in Talook Balaghaut and must go anywhere.

Question.—Did the Rohillas employ themselves under Shanker Punt, through your means or were they entertained by him directly ?

Answer.—I was not the medium ; they were employed by Shanker Punt.

Question.—Being aware for two months that Shanker Punt was collecting a force, why did you not inform the Circar ?

Answer.—I am in fault, the Government are my masters.

Given and signed truely, 3 Shaban, 1275 Hijree.

Sign of a Dagger. Sd. Dustoor Vithul Succaram Deshpandia.

Translation of Deposition taken on the 4th Shaban 1275 Hijree

Question.—Where did Shanker Rao purchase ammunition and where did he store it ?

Answer.—Shanker Bhow gave me a maund of power and seven seers of lead for Balls ; these were delivered by me to Shankersing where the powder was manufactured. I do not know Shankersing was warned to be ready and he replied if Shanker Bhow rose, he would accompany him.

Question.—From what place did Shanker Bhow procure money for the expense of the troops, to whom did he give money and who were in league with Shanker Bhow?

Answer.—Dajee Koolkarnee of Khurda is concerned with Shanker Bhow. He brought a goldchain to the value of about Rs. 300 and

stated his intention of selling the chain for the use of the troops but this he did not do, the names of the parties are as follows :—

Papa Mean, Rusool Khan Rohilla, Shanker Pant, Dajee Kulkarni of Khurdah and myself.

We were seated in consultation in the house of Baba Pooraneak.

Question.—What is the strength of the force which Dajee and Shanker Bhow intended to employ.

Answer.—It was resolved to employ as follows : 100 Rohillas through Papa Mean, Rasool Khan Rohilla ; 100 Sowars on my part ; and as many men as Shankersing could collect.

Question.—What salary was intended to be allowed to the troops ?

Answer.—Jamadar Rs. 30, Rs. 15 for Jowan, Rs. 15 for Bhistee, and five cooks, Rs. 16 to a standard bearer for each division. The above salaries were fixed under the signature of Shanker Bhow, and Dajeeba, and the list has been presented to the Circar. A hundred men were invited by me through Abdool Chavoos of Pawarah but they did not come.

Question.—Mention the names of such others of Bheer as were entertaining men ?

Answer.—One Mirja of Boodulpoor, One Satoon, tom-tom-beater, and one Baloo, these were the men, and besides them, I am not aware who else were employed by Shankersing. The Government should enquire.

Question.—With regard to entertaining a force what assurance did you give to Papa Mean, and what else did you say ?

Answer.—Shanker Bhow desired me to ask Papa Mean to bring 100 Rohillas with him to Wakee and to assure me, promised to obtain the seal of Madhow Rao Kishen Deshmookh, and to speak personally with the view to assuring me.

Question.—You say that Madhow Rao's seal, and assurance was promised by Shanker Bhow. Was the above individual aware of this ?

Answer.—Shanker Rao, and Dajeeba of Khurda were in the habit

of visiting Madhow Rao at night and holding consultation with him. He is aware of it.

Question.—Where is Dajeeba now ?

Answer.—He is in Khurda.

Given and signed truly, 4th Shaban 1275 Hijree.

Sign of a Dagger. Sd. Dustoor Succaram Deshpandya.

REBELLION IN PENTH (NASIK DISTRICT)

Penth a small Jahagir of 24 villages in Nasik district was disaffected in December, 1857. The rebel Kolis (a backward community) plundered the Harsol bazzar on the sixth of December, and made the Mamlatdar a prisoner. From there they attacked Penth where it appears Koli rebels numbering about 2000 had encircled Lieut. Glasspool and his 30 men for a time. The Raja Bhagwantrao was suspected and arrested. He was also a " correspondent " of Nana. (Nasik Gzr. page 202). After a trial he and fifteen others were sentenced and hanged (28th December, 1857). Bhagojee Naik and Makrani Fuldikhan were the leaders of the rebels. A large number of men were sentenced to transportation for life beyond Sea while many others were detained as state prisoners.]

(P. D. Vol. 20 of 1858 pages 381 to 387)

Letter from H. B. Boswell, 1st Assistant Collector in charge of Penth State.

To

J. R. Morgan, Acting Collector of Thana dated 30th December, 1857.

The letter states : (Summary of the letter).

The insurgents after the attack on the kutcherry at Penth went one by one to the Raja to pay their respects to him. The Raja, however, declared that he knew nothing of the attack, nor did he know the names of any one of the insurgents. H. B. Boswell eventually arrested him on 28th December, 1857.

Evidence eventually came forth of the implication of the Raja in the plot. The Thana police then seized two of the leading men in the

gang who plundered the treasury in a village in the Dharampoor Raja's territory. Bhow Malekar, the Patel of Saruste and his brother were also seized. From the Patel's deposition it was gathered that the plot had been planned more than a month ago in Nasik. When the police went to seize Bhow Patel, there was resistance and one of the policemen was shot by an arrow through the chest and one of the insurgents received a bayonet wound in the stomach.

Mr. Boswell then started disarming the villagers and suggested that a strong party of police be posted at Penth to guard the treasury and see that no further disturbances took place.

REPORT ON PENTH (DISTRICT NASIK) DISTURBANCES

(P. D. Vol. 21 of 1858, pages 447 to 470)

Summary of H. B. Boswell's report to I. R. Morgan, dated Camp Penth, 4th January, 1858 :—

Raja Bhagwantrao bin Nilkantharao was, according to the magistrate implicated in the disturbances in the state. He was tried and sentenced for treason and hanged on the spot before the Mamlatdar's Kutchery in the presence of insurgents.

From the various trials it came out that the rising of the Kolis was planned five or six weeks ago by the late Raja and the Dewan of the Rani of Penth who lived in Nasik.

On sixth December the Kolis plundered the bazar of Horsool second town of the state and the acting mamlatdar proceeded there to make enquiries. They caught him and made him a prisoner. They then advanced on Penth taking the acting mamlatdar with them as a prisoner. A hawaldar and about a dozen sepoys were present in the Kutchery. They were mostly armed with swords. The naik of the Kolis of the immediate neighbourhood was called upon to help the sepoys in the Kutchery. He came with his men and advised the sepoys not to offer resistance as the insurgents were too many in number. Hearing this the sepoys allowed them to come near them thinking that they were their saviors. But as soon as they approached, they pounced upon them and seized their arms. Both the parties of the Kolis then joined together and plundered the treasury at their leisure. This done they went to the village and plundered many houses and shops and paid a visit of ceremony to the late Raja, to whom the leaders of the insurgents were introduced one by one.

In the evening they released most of the sepoys and the acting mamlatdar and hearing the troops were approaching they withdrew to the jungle in the neighbourhood.

On Thursday the tenth Lieut. Glasspool arrived with a party and started operations against the insurgents. But his party being too weak to go out and attack the Kolis in the jungle and at the same time to defend the Kutchery and the town, Lieut, Glasspool could not take any decisive step for nearly a week.

Meanwhile the Bhils under Bhagoojee Naik himself came down the ghats and joined them. The Government forces were joined by Captain Nuttal's forces coming from Trambak.

On the arrival of this new force the Bhils and the Kolis retreated to the south. They played hide and seek for a few days. Occasional fights took place. Bhagojee Naik went away with his party of Bhils and the Kolis dispersed and hid themselves in different villages. They were gradually traced out and caught. Many of them had migrated to the State of Dharampur where the Raja's forces caught them and handed them over to the Government authority. All the insurgents having been apprehended the rising was ultimately put down. The property of the late Raja was ordered to be attached and the revenue of his villages was ordered to be collected in the name of Government.

PENTH PRISONERS CONVICTED AND SENTENCED

(P. D. Vol. 36 of 1858, pp. 71-73)

List of persons who were charged of treason and sentenced to transportation beyond sea :—

Names of Prisoners—

Sentenced by H. B. Boswell, Esquire, 1st Assistant Magistrate of Thana and Commissioner under Act XIV of 1857:

1. Bhaoo w Bowapee Naik.
2. Yessa w Nathia.
3. Huree w Chandu.
4. Dhoondul w Maopee.
5. Dhondia w Beerbul.
6. Fakir w Bal Patel.
7. Maojee w Dhurma.
8. Trimbak w Huree Patel.
9. Soma w Nathia.
10. Gunga w Eeka.
11. Roujee w Ramjee.
13. Mahadoo w Kakudia.
14. Dharma w Yeshwant.

Sentenced by Captain Walker, Superintendent of Thana Police and Commissioner under Act XIV of 1857.

15. Dhondoo w Kalee.
16. Nathoo w Bowajee.
17. Gut Patel w Roop Patel.
18. Deojee w Ramjee.
19. Govind w Vittoo.
20. Bheewa w Lukma.
21. Sheetra w Chandoo.
22. Santoo w Chendoo.
23. Arjoon w Mosuia.
24. Lahama w Dhondia.
25. Bhaoo w Deojee.
26. Pandia w Devjee.
27. Rawajee w Harria.

"IMMEDIATE OCCUPATION OF SANGLI-MIRAJ FORTS URGED BY MANSON"

(P. D. Vol. 29 of 1858, p. 165)

Extract from letter from C. J. Manson to Colonel Jacob regarding his negotiations with Ramdoorg dated 29th May :—

Ramdoorg 29th May.

"My dear Colonel,

My negotiations with Nurgoond must fail, and force must be used. Please therefore arrange beforehand for the *immediate* occupation of Sanglee and Meeraj from Kolapore and Satara. It can be done politely and I will explain to the chiefs that it is only a precautionary measure for their benefit. A letter just come from Nurgoond to this chief makes me fear for the chief of Ramdoorg himself, makes my work short. Sutben is not yet reduced I believe. I shall proceed to Yamgal, 9 miles from Nurgoond, and wait for Malcolm. You will have got copy of my Telegram to Lord Elphinstone from Colonel Madgan or Colonel Malcolm. I will try the negotiations, but please be ready to despatch troop to Meeraj and Sanglee, immediately. You hear of my failure and then you can take the field against Nargoond, or wherever you like, as you deem best."

BIJAPUR MAMLATDAR SUSPECTED

(P. D. Vol. 33 of 1858, page 547)

Minute of Lord Elphinstone

"It appears to me that there is enough against the Mamlatdar

of Beejapur to warrant his dismissal or at all evens his suspension pending the result of the trials before it. Sandford which may possibly elicit satisfactory proof that he was cognisant of the powder being clandestinely made for the Jamkundee chief and that he endeavoured by threats to prevent the manufacturer from giving information about it."

DISARMING IN THE DECCAN

Belgaum District

(P. D. Vol. 38 of 1858, pages 51-53)

Extract from letter No. 1757 of 1858 from Bombay Government to G. E. Seton Karr, Esq., Magistrate of Belgaum :—

3. "The number of arms restored to the villages, 23,000, appears very large. The R. H. G. in C requests that you will submit a fuller explanation on this point showing what number of arms, both swords and firearms have been assigned to the Patels, village Police etc. and what number of each sort were retained."

6. "In conclusion the R. H. G in C desires me to request that you will not relax your efforts for the complete disarming of the Government and the Jagheer districts."

Satara District

Extract from letter No. 110 of 1858 from I. N. Rose, Esq., Magistrate of Satara to H. L. Anderson, Esq., Secretary to Government, dated 24th June, 1858. (Page 106.)

4. "It will be observed that up to the 30th April of the year, twenty-two thousand, nine hundred and ninety-four arms (22,994) and one-hundred thirty-seven guns (137) had been collected or destroyed. Since the 1st of May seven hundred and sixty-four arms (764) have been confiscated making altogether an amount of twenty-three thousand eight hundred and ninety-five (23,895) arms taken from the population, according to returns received at the Hujoor up to this date."

Ahmednagar District

Extract from letter from C. Fraser Tytler, Esq., Magistrate of Ahmednagar to H. L. Anderson, Esqr., Secretary to Government.

Bombay, dated 10th August, 1858. Page 219.)

4. "Statement No. 1 shows that 23,980 arms have been registered while 15,676 arms have been confiscated. It also contains other points of information."

5. "Statement No. II gives the detail of arms left in possession of their owners :

With Government employees :	...	...	2626
With the village Police :	...	...	1202
With Sirdars :	...	...	1058
With Sowcars :	...	...	1919

Column 7 contains 1090 cases in which the grant of Licenses is still an open question. The Assistants proposing the grant, the Magistrate dissenting."

7. "The results of the above arrangements are that (inclusive of the weapons of government servants) one weapon has on an average been left to every couple of square miles : in other words about one arm to every 200 souls."

CONSPIRACY LETTERS

[A few letters given here will give some idea about the conditions and temper of the people at that time. Some of the letters do not convey any clear meaning but were probably intended to convey some hidden message. They were not intended to be clear. Such letters which were styled as seditious letters were a headache for the District officers. Some of them appear to be purely personal and harmless. But these officers had to carry on lengthy correspondence in order to understand their real meaning. It appears that among the persons who either carried on the correspondence or were addressed or with whom the correspondence was found, there were a few who were directly connected with the important personalities of the 1857 rebellion. Shewanand Shastri was one of such the persons who was address by Rango Bapuji from London.]

(1)

(P. D. Vol. 35 of 1858, page 267)

Translation of a letter addressed by Govind Chintaman Datar to Bhao Chitnees received on 5th May 1858 by the late Acting Political

Agent., S. M. C. : —

"Further, consequent on writing to the master of the North a letter from his camp at Ramtenk has been received. It has been arranged to adopt the same course also in Carnatic. You should bestow your attention too. It depends on you. It is unnecessary to write suggestions regarding the arrangements to be made thereon."

(2)

Translation of a letter addressed by Haree Vishwanath Gokhale at Belgaum to Govind Punt Dada Datar dated 4th July, 1858. (Page 269).

"Following are the views of this quarter.

"Bhaoo Pokshe has arrived here. I should go but on account of not having recovered the few rupees spent in excess to meet sundry and other expenses, I have postponed my departure and written for orders to Meeraj. I start immediately after the receipt of an answer thereto.

"Should the money on account of private and extra expenses come I would be able to go to Meeraj but if not, it will rest with the pleasure of God.

"The Goodgeree accounts remain to be prepared. Communicate what you propose to be done with them.

"If Sukharampunt Anna goes to Huranee how are the accounts to be prepared ? Who is there else acquainted with them ? For that job a sum of 20 is to be annually received. It is you who caused the payment to be made before, for 5 years accounts. Further proceedings depend on the arrangements you may make. Dada, nothing without your word.

"All the rest of the news is difficult or discouraging, or hard to bear. It is the will of God."

(3)

Substance of a letter from Bheewa Paloo a student of the Normal School at Poona to Bheewa Sarung, school master Lanee Laigue 8th Company. (P. D. Vol. 25 of 1857, page 644.)

In the letter dated 13th August, 1857 Bheewa writes the news of Poona and also rumours about the Mutiny all over India. He writes about following matters :

1. that 27th regiment had plundered the government treasury at Kolhapoor.

2. that 19th regiment has been detained by Baijabaee's people at Aseerghur.

3. that Poona sepoys have to go on duty day and night and the treasury and arsenals are guarded by Europeans only and not the Native troops.

4. that Raja of Satara is removed to Thanna.

5. that newspapers write that there have been 21 battles in Hindoostan.

HOLKAR COMMING TO SATARA

Shewanund Shastree's Letters

(P. D. Vol. 21 of 1858 pp. 235 to 237)

(Translation of an exact from a deposition made before the Magistrate of Satara on January 18th, 1858 by Bajeerao Yeshwant *alias* Anna Potnees in the service of the widow of the late Raja of Satara.)

" Shewanund Shastree Punditrao was formerly in the service of my master (the ex-Raja of Satara). I now recognize a letter written by him from Indore to Dooraga Sing Raje Senaputtee. This and another letter written by the Shastree to the Senaputtee were received at Satara about six months before the arrests were made. (Arrests took place in beginning of June). The other letter should be in the Palace dufter among the Senaputty's papers. I read the letters. The letter which has not yet been found was I think to the same effect as the one now present, namely that Holkar and others were coming to Satara. I do not remember whether there was anything else in the letter but it related to the intended rebellion in the same manner that the present letter does. There was also I think something in the letter relating to family matters. I know that the present letter is in Shewanund's own handwriting because I have seen many letters written by him. There are many of these letters now in the Palace

duftar which I can produce in support of this assertion. I do not know where Shewanund Shastree is at present."

Translation of a letter found on the 27th December 1857 in the duftar of the palace at Satara lately inhabited by the widow and family of the ex-Raja.

"To Maharaj Koomar Dooraga Sing from Shewanund Shastree Punditrao at Indore, Kartick Wad 13th (Note : If written in 1856 this date corresponds in the Deccan to November 26th or to the north of the Nerbuda river to November 11th). I have understood the oral message brought by Kooshaba Mallee. The news from this place is that Tookojee Holkar is coming to Satara. This is to inform you that he will come suddenly. Patell Jaddoo and Tookojee will both come. You must therefore be prepared. Scindia Surdar will arrive at Oojein on Kartick Shood 7th (note : if in 1856, this was November 4th or to the north of Nurbada October 20th). For this reason Holkar is detained, or else he would have been at Satara in Bhadrapud (September). He will now arrive in one month or five weeks. I have this from Holkar himself. Remain therefore prepared. I am now going to Oojein. I beg of you that if you write you should write to Holkar himself. Do not write to any of the Surdars here, either great or small. Do not write in a manner unbecoming your rank. Remember your elevated position when you write Holkar is coming to Jeegooree with his army and retinue. Give my blessings to Maee Sahib (the Ex-Raja's widow) and tell her that having seen Scindia and Baizabaee at Oojein I will go on to Oodeypoor. I do not expect that she will write to me, but if she do so, let the letter be addressed to the house of Bhugwandass Choonilall at Oojein, which address will find me. Give my blessing to Bhowanee Sing (note : Cousin of the Ex-Raja's adopted son). Give my blessing to Appa Sahib Madeek (note : a relation of the late Raja's and master general of the Ordinance under that Sovereign). Give my blessing to Shreemunt Maharaj Chaturputtee (note : adopted son of the late Raja) and the same to his wife."

DNYANPRAKASH PUBLISHES NEWS OF NANA'S ARRIVAL ON DUSSERA

Extract from letter No. 340 of 1858, from C. E. Tystel, Esq., Magistrate of Ahmednagar, to H. L. Anderson, Secretary to Government, Bombay, dated 23rd April, 1858 (P. D. Vol. 26 of 1858, page 165) :—

"In August last a Government Carcoon named Balkrishna Chimnajee made the following entry in the Balbodh character in

a copy of the Dnyan Prakash. We learn on the authority of a private letter that Nana Saheb will come into the Deccan and assume the reigns of the Peishwa Government on the day of the Dussera."

Balkrishna Chimnajee was dismissed from the service of Government and tried for endeavouring to excite sedition.

RATNAGIRI BORDER AFFECTED

(P. D. Vol. 26 of 1858, pp. 212, 214)

Extract from letter from Mr. J. Harpur, Malwan to W. Turgumand, Esq., dated 24th April, 1858 :—

Mr. Harpur writes "I have this morning received a letter from Major Auld in which he says, the rebels are reported to be in the Waree Jungles and that he has sent out every available man after them — they are a considerable distance from our borders — a party of them being in the neighbourhood of Baitsee on the Ramghaut Road direction but Major Auld does not think they will move up north — he is in great hopes his people will be able to surprise and capture or destroy them."

There is another letter of Major Auld written on 25th April, 1858 in which he writes to Mr. Harpur that "the rebel rascals have been down here and though I do not suppose they will move so far as your border I send you this notice. If you have 50 or 60 men and can march through to the foot of Manohar Fort again you may be of use to us. The rebel party are said to muster 50 men."

VENKATRAJA OF SHORAPUR MENTIONS NAMES OF CONSPIRATORS

(P. D. Vol. 28 of 1858, pp. 153 to 163)

Extracts from a letter from M. Taylor, Deputy Commissioner to Lieut. Colonel Davidson, Resident at Hyderabad, dated 25th March, 1858 giving the substance of his interview with the Raja of Shorapoor on that day :

4. "I was in my Palace on the evening of the attack. I do not know how it began but suddenly some shots were fired beneath the hill, where Captain Campbell's camp was. Every one in the Palace ran down to see and though I entreated people not to go, who would

listen to me? That night I was preparing for Runganrah my wife, to go away. In the morning it was reported that a Sahib had been killed. No cap or helmet—was brought to me, nor was any reward given by me to any one. There was much confusion and it was necessary to get the Ranees away as fast as possible. I saw no one.

5. Kusturee Raj (Kustooree) a man from Moodhole used to bring in information, also a Mussulman named Mohomud Hoosain. One Appa who used to be with Kesoo Ram belonged to Kolhapore, and was employed in getting information there. In regard also to Kolhapore and Jamkheendi affairs, Rungan, Muttee Korckul, Hennu apah, Desaye, were engaged, in addition to the people also in the Belgaum Shapoor matter. All these states that is Jamkeendee, Miraj, Tusgaon, Kolapoore, Moodole, Akulkote, and Seett used to send Messages all to the same effect. We are all one, will you not join? So I waited to join but there was hardly any writing, only messages—denote nothing. Nana Sunkeshwar used to tell me the English were scattered like dust. I never sent him, or any other person to Nana Sahib in Hindoostan nor was there any intrigue with him; no emissary came from him, but Lutchman Geer Gosavie knows all about this.

8. There was no one so bad as the Jumkeendi Walla. He was very bad. He sent many messages. He led on all. Ask Sooba Sing, Lutchman Geer, and Poorsotum Geer and Soorumul about them, also Senva about Akuleote, Sreenivas naik. They think because I am Rajah, they can put all the blame on me, but it should not be so. Was I alone? Were not all these, every one there in the affairs? Tinapah Rutungherry had the Kunuhary Talooka, he was always bringing the news of the English disasters. He went and plundered in the English country. He was very bad. Deve Sing was another who advised the murder of Captain Campbell, he knows much and should be apprehended and confronted with me as also all the others, I have mentioned."

9. The above was all that the Rajah stated of any consequence to-day and it will be observed that he continues to harp upon the conduct of the Jumkheendi and other Sirdars of the Southern Maratha Country. The ..... Deshmook belongs to the Dufflay family and all parties mentioned by the Rajah as being in league, are well known.

Some of the persons included in the list submitted by the Rajah Venquppah of Shorapoor, as being concerned in conspiracy there

with the Rajah's remarks are noted down :—

Ramanah Wagmgera	...	Mudseedee—knows of all intrigues and was in them.
Bheem Rao Diwan	...	Same but worse.
Keshow Raw Alempoor	...	Same but worse.
Luchmikant Raw	...	Worst very bad.
Eukut Raw Dutterdar Soolbapa.		Very bad always with Bheema Row and others.
Sreeniwas Naik (Uncle)	...	about Akulkote and Jumkeendie.
Wasdeo Naik (Uncle)	...	about Bellary and Anagoond.
Buswant Rao Mahratta	...	used to offer up Incence for success daily.
Buswant Sing Jemadar	...	.....
Krishna Shastree Malhar	...	Intrigues in Mysore, Bangalore and very bad.
Pandoorung Booduoor	..	.....
Ahmedbeg	...	.....
Enkana Bawa	...	.....

VI

NEWSPAPER EXTRACTS

NEWSPAPER EXTRACTS

[The following extracts give a fair idea about the political conditions and political thought in the Presidency in the latter half of the 19th Century. They cover a wide range of political and economic subjects and have been selected from P. D. Volumes of the Reportes on the Native newspapers. The office of Reporter was created by Government in 1868 and volumes are available from that year. The material is voluminous and only a few selections have been given here. The subjects covered by these extracts include India's poverty and its causes, demand for political rights, demand for representation in parliament, demand for giving a parliament to India, military expenditure, foreign wars, revolutionary activities in foreign countries, royal visits, approach of the Russian Railway towards the Indian border welcomed, native states, etc.

The impression that British Government was in those days generally taken as a " providential dispensation " will be found to be inaccurate by a perusal of this material. Some of the papers were very critical of the motives of the British Rulers and a few even asked them ' to leave this country lock stock and barrel '. After the introduction of 124 (A) (1870) and the Press curbs of 1878, newspapers, it appears, were required to exercise more restraint on their expressions. The Press had in fact enjoyed freedom since 1835 ; in 1857 for a short time restrictions were introduced and one or two Bombay papers were warned not to indulge in news of the Rebellion (1857). Editors of two papers of Surat, Swatantrata and Gujarat Mitra, were prosecuted in 1878.

The important Newspapers which helped to shape political thought in the Presidency include, Mumbai Samachar (Anglo-Gujerati, Bombay-1822), Indu Prakash (Anglo-Marathi, Bombay-1862), Dnyan Prakash (Anglo-Marathi, Poona-1874), Kiran (Marathi, Poona-1877), Arunodaya (Marathi, Thana-1866), Nibandhamala (Marathi, Poona-1874), Sarvajanik Sabha Quarterly Journal (English, Poona-1876), Kesari (Marathi) and Maratha (English, Poona-1882), Gujarat Mitra (Gujarati-1863), Swatantrata (Gujerati, Surat-1878).

Important Newspapers which were started before the office of Newspaper Reporter was created and which helped to shape Political thought were Darpan (Anglo-Marathi, Bombay-1832), Mumbai Akhbar (Marathi, Bombay-1840), Prabhakar (Anglo-Marathi, Bombay-1841). Almost all the districts in Maharashtra had papers in this period. There were for instance, Vichar Lahari (Marathi, Poona-1852), Parshu (Jamkhindi, Marathi-1855), Dnyan Prasarak (Marathi, Kolhapur-

1853), Vartman Sangraha (Marathi, Kolhapur-1853), Jagan Mitra (Marathi, Ratnagiri-1854), Subha Suchak (Marathi, Satara-1858). Prabhakar (Bombay) seems to be the first newspaper which published letters of the famous Lokhitvadi (1844) in which he prophesied that the English will be compelled to leave this country. The editor of this paper, Bhau Mahajan, seems to be the first editor of his time who had taken to journalism as a profession in order to be able to serve the country denying himself other lucrative avenues. Regarding these newspaper comments the General Administration Report of 1877 (page 404) stated, "It is, no doubt, fault finding in that, it can scarcely surpass the Anglo-Indian Press. Almost every act of Government is loudly disapproved and cavilled at, but nothing that will stand the least thought is suggested instead. The Native Press thus necessarily carried the least possible weight in the public Administration."

A few extracts have been taken from non-official sources which include extracts from Swatantrata (Surat), Dnyana Prakash (Poona), Varad Samachar (Akola, 1872), Vritta Vaibhav (1871).]

GOVERNMENT POLICY OF INTEMPERANCE STRONGLY CRITICISED

Extract from the Dnyan Deepak, Volume I : Nos. 1-2 of Jan.-Feb. 1855, pages 7, 8, 9 of January issue and pages 27, 28 of February issue

(1)

"As long as the sanction of supreme authority is given to traffic in intoxicating drinks so long must agencies labour to a great extent in vain, and why? Because our Government is also a moral enlightened agency; because to a great exent it rules its people by moral persuation, and hence its sanction to this trade goes far to nullify the various efforts now in progress to correct this evil.

"But we are told our Government seek to suppress intemperance, and that for this purpose they regulate and check the traffic in intoxicating liquors by the licence-system as it is now in force.

"The simple question here is : Is this traffic an evil? If so, it should not be regulated, it ought to be not only checked but totally removed. It would not be difficult to show that this regulating, checking system by Government license is far more than counterbalanced by the evils which directly flow from it. This broad Government seal

has rendered respectable a dis-respectable calling. The Distiller, the Publican, the Toddy Contractor hold public odium in defiance because, they feel secure under the shield of Supreme authority."

(2)

"I may traverse the whole country without witnessing a single case of intoxication, but the moment I pass over the British territory I find a marked difference. Every bunder, every street of every city, every village, and even hamlet bear testimony to the better insufficiency of this so called Government check on intemperance. Distilleries, Dram-shops, Toddy houses driving a successful trade in every direction, thousands on thousands of the people especially of the working classes habitual drinkers, thousands on thousands daily—the Sabbath not excepted—crowding to those shops which claim the protection of a British Christian Government. On witnessing such scenes as these, I cannot, I confess, discover anything in the poorest, the most wretched looking of the people whose daily earnings are in most case one and a half, or two annas, regular visitors in multitudes, at the dram-shop."

(3)

"It is demonstrable, indeed it has been again and again demonstrated, that the traffic in intoxicating liquors in the country as sanctioned by our rulers is a great evil that is proving ruinous to millions in British India. Let it not be said that by regulating and checking this traffic our rulers are doing their utmost to promote temperance among their subjects. When the whole of this vast revenue is refused admission into the national treasury, when it is solely applied to the reformation of the people, when it is expended in the establishment of industrial and moral institutions, then this argument might have some weight. Still the principle would be unsound, because it sanctions evil that good may follow. If I pitch my neighbour into the sea that I may exhibit my dexterity and compassion in rescuing him from a watery grave, do you give me credit either for compassion or well regulated principles? No more do the upright and laudable measures of our rulers justify them in countenancing this great evil."

(4)

"The sale of intoxicating liquors under Government sanction is felt and acknowledged to be an enormous evil. Can it be lessened? Can it be removed? We answer, yes, and we maintain that the

moment our Government has the will it may with impunity exert its power to effect this desirable end.

"We know our Government desires to promote the well-being of its people, and we rejoice that it has accomplished and is accomplishing so much, but this desire must increase in ardour. In many instances of reform, sacrifice is necessary,—present emolument must be relinquished.

"They will cut off this occasion to intemperance, though at the expense of pecuniary loss. We do not expect them to effect a moral reformation. No human legislation can effect this; but we may let them earnestly seek and labour to effect reformation and we have faith that reformation will be the result.

"Hence we maintain that it is Legislators' imperative duty *to demand the cessation of this traffic, to prohibit destillation*, to withdraw these licenses, to proclaim their determination to remove every occasion of stumbling, every impediment to the progress of temperance. This bears the aspect of a sweeping measure.

"We maintain *then that it is the imperative duty of our Indian Government to prohibit entirely traffic in intoxicating liquors.*"

(5)

"The chief question for British Reformers, for honest men is: Is this traffic a good or an evil? Is our sanction of it right or wrong? Every observant traveller in these parts, every impartial inquirer will unhesitatingly answer, *It is an evil of vast magnitude.* Hence our reforming Government should disclaim all connection with it, and avow their determination to supress it in every quarter."

(6)

"The use of intoxicating liquors is *contrary* to their religion. Not only would this measure be right course, not without consulting the wish of a single subject, but it would be a decidedly popular measure. The poor as well as the more opulent would rejoice in it. The very victims of intemperance would think the Government for its benign interference. The more intelligent subjects of British India would celebrate the cessation of this traffic—the death of this all devouring monster as a jubilee. Then would the pulpit and the press, then would education prove manifold more powerful than at present. This obstacle removed, they would produce their legitimate effect.

" We earnestly and respectfully invite the whole Native Community as well as all Europeans and Americans to persevere in urging our Government to adopt this salutary measure."

"DEADLY NATIONAL REBELLION"

Comments of the Bombay Times, 15th January 1859

" If you chose to turn your eyes to the truth and call it, as some of your high civil officials in 1857 called it, a mere Military mutiny, the blame of keeping up a large Sepoy Army with an absurdly small number of European soldiers in the country, with the Empire daily extending, lies at the door of the Court of Directors. If you call it by its right name a " deadly national rebellion ", more fierce and sanguinary than ever occurred in France, the blame of annexing Oude against solemn treaties (as now admitted by every Member of Parliament, but long ago ineffectually dinned into Lord Dalhousie's ears by the whole Press of India, save the " Friend "), lies at the door of their pet servant whom they rewarded with a pension of 50,000 Rs., a year, to be paid out of the revenues of the very land which he had so cruelly despoiled. Who, but the Court of Directors, refused to allow Nana Dhoondoo Punt (the notorious Nana) to sit on the Gadee of the Great Bajee Rao Peishwa, in defiance of the Shastras on the false plea that a Hindoo's adopted son was not a legal heir, and on the same plea deprived the Nana of a Pension of 8,00,000 Rs. per annum ? Who, but the Court of Directors refused to entertain the just and equitable prayer of the Ranee of Jhansi, to have her husband's adopted son placed on the Musnud, and punished her by annexing her territory ? Who but Lord Dalhousie, forgetting the period of History when the Company's servants had to beg of Shah Alum for a small bit of territory known as the Dewanny of Bengal, forgetting the immense wealth, influence and power of the whole line of Mahomedan Emperors that ruled India from the Throne of Delhi in the days of Yore would so far insult and exasperate the old King (now on his way to the Cape), as to inform him that on his death (he was then 70 years of age) his throne would be extinct and his pension of rupees 12,000,000 per annum resumed ? Who, but Lord Dalhousie would have annexed the large provinces of Nagpore and appropriated a Revenue of about Rs. 150,000,000 per annum, merely because the Ranee of the late Raja desired to place the Raja's adopted son on the throne : and so we might go on tearing to tatters all those mighty acts of spoliation in India which the blind Ministers of England, misled by the Court of Directors, were wont to call great political achievements.

Irresistibly then will be the conclusion force itself upon every impartial inquirer that, to the Government chiefly, to its breach of faith and breach of sacred Hindoo Laws in its relation with Mahomedan and Hindoo Princes, to its oppressive and defective Revenue Laws and still more defective administration of justice, Civil and Criminal, are we, the European residents of India, indebted for the loss of our dearest kinsmen whom the Government cannot replace and for the loss of our houses and household property, the accumulations of 20 and 30 and sometimes 40 years of hard toil in a foreign land, which the Government can and is bound to replace. The Government of India will do well to abandon the pernicious habit of disguising the true causes of this Rebellion."

"THE DEFFICIT AND THE MEANS TO FILL IT UP"

(*Vide* Native News Paper Report, 1868-69. For the week ending 23rd October 1869, pages 3 and 5)

The Indu Prakash of (1) the 18th October devotes a leader to the notice of the recently discovered deficit in the Indian Treasury, and of the means resorted to by Government to fill it up. The article is written in a tone of irony and censure. Government is accused of carelessness and extravagance in the matter of finance, and the fact that a huge and altogether incredible mistake of some crores was allowed to remain unnoticed for years together by a host of finance officers is adduced as a proof in support of the accusation. Then, referring to the means adopted to fill up this suddenly discovered gap, the writer regrets to observe that in announcing an additional tax on salt, Government does not say how long this additional burden is to be saddled on the ryots. Is it to be inferred from this silence that it is permanent? And if this inference be right, it does not become the British Government, which calls itself enlightened, humane, and Christian, to tax such an indispensable necessary as salt is to the people of this country. A tax on spirituous liquors, and such other luxuries, would have been much better. Then referring to reductions in the State expenditure as one of the important expedients to bring about an equillibrium in the income and expenses of the State, the writer repeats the often-reiterated complaint of the Native Press that Government in this matter of reduction too often directs its attention to the paltry items, such as the number and salaries of low-paid karkuns, peons, etc., but never touches the splendid salaries of its European servants. The writer has great hopes of Lord Meyo, whom he considers on his trial at this critical juncture; and says that if his Lordship will evince firmness and courage in reducing the State expenditure,

he will certainly make himself unpopular to the European in this country ; but by putting the country on a sound financial footing, and rooting out the cause of these deficits, which have become altogether chronic, he will earn the everlasting gratitude of the teeming millions of Her Gracious Majesty's faithful subjects.

"SET UP WEAVING MACHINES"

(*Vide* Native News Paper Report, 1868-69. For the week ending 14th November 1868, page 5, paragraph 3)

The Maharastra Mitra of the 12th November, exhorts his countrymen to raise a large capital by shares, and set up weaving machines in different parts of the country, and not to depend upon articles prepared by the looms of England and other European countries. The Sattara paper attributes the present rise, prosperity, and supremacy of the English nation to commerce, and says that those who wish to be remembered in the future history of India, ought not to shrink back from undertaking this work.

THE DANGER OF A REBELLION IN SOUTH

(*Vide* Native News Paper Report, 1868-69. For the week ending 14th August 1869, page 6, paragraph 2)

The Bombay Samachar (28) of the 9th August contains a leader headed 'The Danger of a Rebellion in Southern India". It has been heard from all quarters, says the writer, that Southern India shows the signs of a second great rebellion. The Mahomedan population of that part is said to be getting more and more discontented with the British rule ; and those who apprehend an insurrection, warn the authorities that if they do not take timely precautions, and if they remain careless, as they did at the time of the last mutinies, they will soon find the disaffection of the Southern Mahomedans assuming a very frightful form. It has been heard from more than one quarter that the Mullahs of the Wahabi sect move about in Mysore and the neighbouring country, making exciting speeches to ignorant Mahomedans in mosques and other places. Those who shrewdly read the signs of the times gravely point to the recent disturbance at Vellore, in Madras. Setting aside the question whether or not there was any real intention of raising a rebellion at Vellore, the subsequent enquiries incontestibly prove that the Native regiments of Madras contain a great many Wahabis, and that the men in those regiments are dissatisfied with the British Government.

"KICKS AND BLOWS TO THE NATIVES"

(*Vide* Native News Paper Report, 1868-69. For the week ending 9th January 1869, page 3)

The Indu Prakash, in its issue of the 4th January, describes, in detail, some glaring instances of mismanagement on the opening day of the Broach Exhibition which have reached its ears. Firstly, Mr. Hogg attempted to enter the Exhibition building without a ticket. The police inspector would not let him do so. The inspector drew his sword. Fortunately Mr. Hogg had none by him, otherwise such a scene would have occurred as has never before been witnessed. There was a great crowd assembled in front of the building, and people showed impatience to be admitted. The police reported this to the full power magistrate, who issued orders to the police to use their batons, which they did right and left without distinction. The Gaikawar comes in his state carriage, the police prohibit his entrance; the Prince orders his coachman to use his whip on the backs of those who stand in the way, and drives on his carriage. There was only one door to the Exhibition hall for going in and coming out. Though they had only about 700 first class seats, the managers issued about 1,500 tickets. 2,000 second class tickets were sold, while the Committee had accommodation for a much smaller number only. First class tickets were purchased both by Europeans and Natives at the same price, but the former were freely admitted, and the latter denied admittance. Mr. Dossabhoy Framjee of Bombay managed to enter the hall, in the company of some of his European friends, and had to be provided with a seat; Mr. Greaves walked up to Mr. Dossabhoy, and ordered him to vacate the seat. An altercation ensued, and Mr. Dossabhoy left the seat. Mr. Greaves subsequently asked his pardon. The Honourable Mr. David Sassoon, a member of the Legislative Council of Bombay, applied to Mr. Hogg for an admission ticket to the ball which took place, the next day, in connection with the exhibition. Mr. Hogg flatly refused. Mr. Sassoon complained to the Governor, who was displeased with Mr. Hogg's conduct, and prohibited his presence at the next day's levee. At a private interview with the Governor, one of the Native Chiefs of Guzarat recounted to him the insulting treatment they had to suffer at the hands of the police. Mr. Hope, who happened to be near, appeared crest-fallen. The Governor seemed displeased with what he heard. He however pacified the Prince, by saying that it was the fault of the stupid police. The Guzerat Chiefs were authoritatively ordered by the Politicals to visit the Exhibition, and yet they received such a humiliating reception. The conduct of the gentlemen of the Com-

mittee, however, was quite in unison with that of Sir John Lawrence towards H. H. Scindia, when the latter was asked by the former to come and see one of the forts recently taken from himself.

The Rast Goftar of the 3rd January contains a long leader headed "Who should be censured for the Gross Insult given to the Native Visitors at the Opening of the Broach Exhibition." The object which the writer has in discussing this question at great length, is to show to Government and to the public at large, that the Native Visitors did nothing whatever to deserve such outrageous treatment at the hands of the Managing Committee of the Exhibition. He then proceeds to relate the circumstances which brought on these sad results. The Committee issued and sold about 3,000 tickets, while they had accommodation for about 700 only. The hour appointed for the admission of the visitors was 3 p. m. and when a large crowd of ticket-holders presented themselves at the gates of the Exhibition building, it was found that to examine the tickets of so many people and to admit them (if the latter thing was possible), would require some hours. In the meantime the European visitors began to come in; but the front as well as the passages to the building, was crowded by the Native visitors. What should be done to clear the passages and the front for the easy admission of the European carriages? The gentlemen of the Managing Committee could think of nothing but ordering the police to drive away the Native visitors, in any way they thought fit. The people who held tickets for which they had paid, and which should secure to them unmolested admission into the building, were amazed at the violence of the police, and began to remonstrate. But they were answered by blows from whips and batons, the kicks and pushings of the police, who were instigated by the gentlemen of the Managing Committee vociferating "drive them away, drive them away." The confusion was awful and indescribable. No rank, no position could save a man from indignity and violence. After some time, when all the European visitors were accommodated, small batches of native ticket-holders began to be admitted, only to submit to fresh insults and degradation in the interior. Thus thousands of Natives, many of whom were gentlemen of well-known position and respectivity, were most shamefully ill-treated, simply for the convenience and comfort of a handful of Europeans. Did the latter form the majority of contributors to the Exhibition? Not at all. Most of the money was realised from the former. What did they get for their money? Kicks and blows. It is really melancholy that such scenes should take place under the British rule. They are certainly calculated to destroy the good feeling between

the governors and the governed. They surpass the tyrannies of the old Native Rajas. Native gentlemen, Native Officers, Native Chiefs, and Native Rajas, all have suffered equally. All expectation of good social results from this gathering was destroyed by the insolent and careless conduct of the Committee, and the Exhibition has produced a widespread and intense discontent and indignation in the country. "We must humbly call on the Government of Sir Seymour Fitzgerald," concludes the Rast Goftar; "to make a full and searching inquiry into this grave matter, and to mete out strict justice to all parties concerned, and thus to pacify the minds of the outraged Native public. Not only we, but the whole Native population, are eagerly waiting to see what measures Government mean to take in this affair."

"MIGHT IS RIGHT"

(*Vide* Native Newspaper Report, 1868-69. For the week ending 18th April 1868. Pages 10-11)

The same contains an article quoted from the Vritta Prakash of Poona, headed "Might is the only Right", in which the writer dwells on some of the evils of despotism. He says that to levy taxes in opposition to the reasonable wishes of the ryot, in order to meet selfish ends, is a characteristic feature of an oppressive Government. The ryot is not unwilling to pay settled and definite taxes, but to make the ryot pay in order to replenish the exchequer exhausted by the extravagant acts of the governing power is nothing but oppression. If a Government throws the burden of public expenditure incurred through simple extravagance and folly on its poor subject, there is no alternative but either to submit or quit the country. He goes on to compare former Governments with the present, and observes that this "Bharut Khand" (India) is destined by the Providence of God not to enjoy ease and tranquillity. After these preliminary remarks she turns to the current topic of the Abyssinian Expedition, and says that Government, in order to rescue certain Christian priests have determined on a war with Abyssinia, and have accordingly despatched an expeditionary force against that country. What benefit, observes the writer, would accrue to our country by the rescue of a few Christian priests. It is a proper subject for the consideration of those only who love them, who revere them, and who are anxious about them. Some might contend that on the score of philanthropy alone, every one ought to do his utmost to rescue the innocent persons whom the Abyssinian King has arrested and imprisoned, and therefore the Indian ryot ought not to grumble at contributing towards that

charitable object. To this, he replies that charity is a matter that ought to be voluntary and not compulsory. Notwithstanding this, the British Government had resolved upon taxing the Indian Exchequer with all the expenses of the Expedition, but through the instrumentality of some generous minded gentlemen, it has now been determined that the expense of maintaining Native Regiments only should be defrayed from the Indian revenues.

Further on the writer remarks that if a complaint of conversion to Christianity be preferred against a Missionary, a reply is at once returned that Government will not interfere in matters concerning religion. If Government will not interfere in religious matters, why should they apportion among us the expenses of an expedition avowedly undertaken to release the priests of their own creed? If the Government saddles us to-morrow with the expenses of the marriage and baptismal ceremonies of Christians, we must, by starving ourselves, pay them, because we are weak and entirely within their power. The maxim that might is the only right, which was a law in former times, holds equally good in these days. He concludes by expressing a hope that Government will not, after a mature consideration of the address delivered by Mr. Dadabhoy Nowroji before the Parliament adhere to its decision. If it does, it must be considered as a misfortune to India and her sons.

"MAKE ENQUIRY WITH THE ADMINISTRATION OF INDIA"

(*Vide* Native Newspapers Report 1870-71. For the week ending 10th September 1870. Pages 6 and 7)

The Rast Goftar (36) of the 4th September heartily approves of the resolution of the East India Association to move the Parliament to appoint select committees to enquire into the administration of India to ascertain what results have been produced by the direct assumption of the Government by Her Majesty. This demand of the Association is just and opportune, since the country is declaiming against new and heavy taxation, and the State treasure is in an insolvent condition. For these reasons it seems probable that the Secretary for India and the Parliament would accede to the prayer, and good results would follow from the concession. Since 1832 almost every year the State revenues have been increasing. In that year they amounted to sixteen crores, and have now reached fifty-three. And yet they do not suffice for the expenses of the realm. The country is disturbed by no internal feuds. No hereditary wars are prosecuted with unruly and revengful neighbours; nor is there any apprehension of a foreign invasion. No dire and

sweeping famines are threatening the country. On the other hand, profound peace and abundance and prosperity reign in the realm; and yet we see that the ample revenues, amounting to no less a sum than half a thousand millions, are not sufficient to satisfy the wants of the ever hungry stomach of Government. This state of things at once shows that every thing is not right with the financial system of the country, and that there is a great necessity for reducing the present lavish expenditure. It is true that as commerce expands and increases, and prosperity auguments, the value of money lessens. This makes it necessary for the State to get more money from the subjects than before. This we have been told by each successive Finance Minister beginning from Mr. Milson, and we have been supplying more funds to each of them. It, however, must be remembered that this is no reason why unnecessary and lavish expenditure should be kept up.

THE MILITARY EXPENDITURE OF INDIA

Volume No. 45. General Department for the year 1871

Extract from the Report on Native Papers

The Native Opinion (2) of the 28th May has a leader headed "The military expenditure of India." One of the principal causes of the unsatisfactory condition of the Indian exchequer, and of the ever-increasing vexatious taxation, says the opinion, is the extravagant military expenditure, and a careful reform in this branch of the administration will not only spare the Indian Government of their pitiful displays of useless economy, or rather of contemptible stinginess, but will save the poor inhabitants of this country from several unpleasant taxes. The writer then compares the military expenditure of the Indian Government before and after the Mutinies, and shows by quoting figures that the Indian, army, though numerically smaller by one-third now than what it was in 1853-54, costs about four and half krore more. It is true that the present Indian army contains about 18,000 European soldiers more than it did before the Mutinies but it must not be forgotten also that it contains about 117,000 Native Sepoys. This extravagance in the military expenditure the writer attributes to the fact that the Indian Government cannot exercise thorough control over it. The Home authorities can spend this money as they please. As an instance in support of this assertion, the Opinion refers to the Transport Service, and says that in the times of the old East India Company this service used to cost annually about seven lakhs of rupees, but the cost under this head at present has grown to seventy lakhs. The

writer then gives the numerical strength and cost of the armies of Russia, France and Germany and shows that the English army is the costliest of all, and he attributes this to the extravagance and mismanagement of the English military authorities.

DEMOCRATIC RULE IN NATIVE STATES

A full translation of an article in the *Khandesh Waibhaw* of the 22nd October 1875 headed, "*The Native princes and chiefs should administer their states after convening parliaments of their respective subjects and consulting their wishes.*"

On reading the histories of all the kindoms which flourished before this time, one finds that those were the best which were *conducted with the consent of the people.* Of the states which now exist on the surface of the earth those which are governed with the consent of their people are found to be in the best condition. In the United States in America there is no king. The Government is conducted with the voice of the people and is therefore in the best condition of all the Governments of the earth. The people govern themselves and therefore such laws only as are beneficial to themselves are enacted. Should they govern indiscreetly they themselves would have to suffer the consequences of their indiscretion.

On a consideration it would appear plain that the people should have the right of governing (themselves), for it is but proper that those whose money is to be spent should have the right of spending it. It would be unjust if the money *belonging to one is spent by another without the consent of the owner.* The other person may spend the money in a right way according to his judgment, still if the expenditure is not approved of by the owner the money is not rightly spent. It is also extremely improbable that one spends another's money justly without consulting his own selfish ends. All are naturally selfish. Therefore one ought to have an exclusive right of spending his own money. To show what true justice and benefits are to be had where such a state of things exists, the condition of the United States in America has been described (above). And if one wants to know what great dis-advatages, injustice and tyranny happen where such a state does not exist one should look to the existing condition of India.

In India the British Government alone rules supremely in all matters from the most trifling to those of great political importance. We are not consulted in the least in anything. Though we may cry how so much no attention is paid to the crying. Attention is paid

to our interests only when they can be secured after securing the interests of the Government. But if our interests interfere with those of Government, the former are entirely set aside without caring in the least howsover great a damage is done to our people or howsoever completely they may be ruined. Our people cry out in various ways, they weep, they bawl out, but all in vain. It is like pouring water on a vessel placed upside down. We continue to complain pitifully and they continue to kick us. The more we bend the more they press us down. This is the course the British Government has adopted at present towards the Hindus. It is difficult to say what result will follow from this conduct. It is well understood that we never get justice at the hands of the English Government if we act meekly. A force can be overcome only by a greater force. Without it everything is in vain. This the British Government itself teaches us.

All this is written in support of the real matter of which we are to write today. As the British Government rules tyrannically in India so do the native chiefs and princes rule tyrannically in their respective states. Whence have the Scindia and the Nizam brought the very great amount of money which they are about to spend in honour of the Prince (of Wales)'s arrival? Was it not snatched from the poor cultivators and other people? Was it taken by them for spending it as they like? Do these princes take the consent of their respective subjects for such strange exepenses and expenses for other diverse pleasures and enjoyments? The English people call themselves highly civilized but even they without minding the complaints of their subjects spend the money (of those subjects) as they (the English people) like and oppress them. Why should we then laugh at the native princes and chiefs in this matter?

The English Government can control the native princes and chiefs as it likes. Why does it not then order each of them to create *parliaments of the people of their respective states and to conduct all the affairs of their states through* these bodies? But if it does so, how will these chiefs and princes commit injustice? And how will the British Government find opportunities of swallowing up their states? What a good thing it would have been had the British Government instead of deposing Malharrao at once ordered him to create a parliament of his subjects and to rule as it may direct? We are perfectly confident that howsoever wise a king may be, if he rules his kingdom solely on his own authority he will act as our native chiefs and princes do.

NO REJOICING AT THE TIME OF THE ROYAL VISIT

Volume VII, No. 43 of Political Department—1875
Week ending, 10th April 1875

Extract from Report on Native Papers, page 3

The Shivaji (29) of the 2nd April, but received on the 4th, in a long editorial, noticing the approaching visit of the Prince of Wales to this country, advises the people as to how they should act on that occasion. According to the writer, the people should spend nothing in giving welcome to their future Emperor. They should undoubtedly wait on His Royal Hihgness, but should say nothing to him but what refers to the manifold grievances under which they are groaning. The Prince should hear nothing but complaints wherever he goes. No rejoicing should be made on the occasion. The authorities may make grand darbars, grand military reviews, illuminations, etc. But the people should manifest nothing but the misery and wretchedness under which they are suffering. The people are very poor already, and they should not add to their poverty by spending of what little they have, on useless and empty shows. The Prince is coming to this country, not with any object of doing good to the people and of enquiring into their grievances and of granting them due redress, but to enjoy a trip to this distant land. The writer refers to the great indebtedness of the Prince, and expresses fear that he possibly comes to this country to get money in the shape of presents. The writer in the Shiwaji entertains not a very flattering opinion regarding the character of the heir apparent, and observes that there is very little power in the hands of these Princes to do good or harm to this country. Their visits to this country involve the people in useless expenses. A few years ago the Duke of Edinburgh visited this country. Poona will remember this Duke's visit for a long time, but the memory will not be very pleasant. Mr. Anna Saheb Winchurkar spent five thousand rupees and gave a clock to Poona to commemorate the visit of the Royal Duke to India. But the people of Poona have been saddled with a permanent annual expense of 300 rupees to wind up the memorial clock. The people are once more advised to spend nothing on the occasion, not to show any rejoicing, because that course is sure to attract many more great but greedy personages to this land to denude it of the little money that is left in it. But wherever the Prince may go he should get nothing but bundles of petitions from the people, containing their grievance and prayers for redress.

FALSE PRAISE OF THE GOVERNMENT

VOLUME No. 51—A, OF GENERAL DEPARTMENT FOR THE YEAR 1875

Extract from the Report on Native Papers.

The Maharashtra Mitra (5) of the 17th June, but received on the 20th contains a communicated article of some length. It is headed "False Praise", and contains a strong attack on the policy of the British Indian Government. The Native Press is accused of falsely praising the British Government as the great protector and enlightener of its ryots, the dispenser of the purest justice, and the most generous benefactor of the subject races. The Native newspaper writers are never tired, of singing these praises of their British rulers, but those writers are entirely blind to the dire results the high-handed policy of the British Government has produced in this unhappy country. The writer sees nothing but lamentable consequences in the educational policy of the Government. Education has, no doubt, spread to a considerable extent in the country. But what sort of education is it? It is calculated to prepare clerks and writers, that is men fit only to serve. The consequence is, that there are too many men in the country ready to serve and too little service to employ them. There are too many to recite history, but none who can act a history. The sort of education given by Government has nothing practical in it. It only enervates its devotees and makes them fit for nothing but service. It has mischievously diverted their attention from useful occupations. Though Government educates the Natives it refuses to make any use of the youths it educates by employing them on higher posts under it. Notwithstanding all this, the silly writers in the Vernacular Press do not see their error and eulogize Government for its impartiality and other virtues. The writer in Maharashtra Mitra has no fear in asserting that the English Government is perhaps the most partial Government India ever had. In short, in the opinion of this writer, no rulers who have ever ruled India have injured this country as it has been injured by the English rulers. The writer also asserts that in arranging the mixed European and Native army in a battle field, the English generals arrange it in such way as to expose the Native soldiers to the greatest danger and the European ones to the least. Again, there is a gross partiality in the treatment of the European and Native soldiers. The former are housed in fine buildings, while the latter have only misreable huts to dwell in. The English Government does not seem to this writer to cut a better figure in the matter of justice which it distributes in one way to the Europeans and in another to the Natives. The several cases of the old annexations, such as that of Sattara, and the reten-

tion of the Berars and the recent decision in the Baroda case are adduced as proofs by the writer, in support of his assertions. The article contains some more remarks conceived in the same spirit.

INDIAN ADMINISTRATION UNDER FIRE

The following Extracts are taken from Report on Native papers, Volume 33, Political Department for the year 1876 :—

The Arunodaya of the 2nd January observes that the old Natives of India used to say that one should not believe the statement made by Europeans, that they rule India with philanthropic motives, and that when the Natives become able to rule their country they make it over to them and bid them adieu ; and they pointed to Ireland in support of what they said. They say though Ireland is in possession of England for several centuries past, and though England has been making the same magnanimous statement about it, yet Ireland has never been allowed to become independent. Englishmen also say that they have no desire to obtain new possessions and to extend their empire ; they wish only to increase justice and morality in the world. But this saying of theirs is also insincere. If England has no desire to extend her empire, why did she annex to her sway numerous states ? Why does she still follow the course of annexation ? And why does not the British Indian Government return the Berars to the Nizam ? From these and other things it seems that the British Government does not mean to act according to what it says. The object of the British Government in raising a quarrel with Burmah appears to be to annex that state. Nothing has been heard of Burmah ever having raised a quarrel with Englishmen. The recent quarrel with it has been raised by England, and Burmah gives a straight forward reply to it. And yet Englishmen find fault with Burmah.

4. *The Native opinion of the 27th February* (page 3) states that, " It will be well, therefore, if the people of India get the right of popular representation in the administration of their country when Her Majesty assumes the title of the paramount sovereign of it. (The Pandhari Writt of the 23rd February also, in noticing the subject, prays the English nation to accord, in commemoration of Her Majesty's assumption of the title of Empress of India, to the people of this country the right of representation in Parliament.).

5. *The Rast Goftar of the 20th February week ending 26th February* (p. 9), in an editorial, headed " A Queen Rewarded," observes that the change which Her Majesty wishes to make in her title in connection with India, is not only not nominal and

unimportant, but full of great political significance. The change will deeply affect the relations existing between the English Government and the Native Princes and Chiefs. They were once independent and made treaties with the British Government on terms of equality. These treaties have never been cancelled. But when the English Crown assumes an imperial dignity in form by the consent of Parliament, these treaty relations with the Native Princes will cease of themselves. All this change has been quite natural and the work of time. The Native Princes have only to thank themselves for their loss of dignity.

6. *The same, in the next editorial, headed* "A Nation Unrewarded", observes that it is difficult to say that this change will bring with it any benefits to the Indian subjects. It is a befitting time, reiterates the Rast Goftar, for Her Gracious Majesty to concede to her Indian subjects some of the valuable constitutional rights which are enjoyed by her English subjects at Home. This should be done in the cheerful recognition of the great and sincere loyalty and devotion recently exhibited by the whole of India to Her Majesty's family and to the English crown.

7. *The Gujarat Mitra of the 27th February week ending 4th of March* (p. 7), in another leader, in noticing the announcement made by Her Majesty the Queen in her opening speech at the last re-assembling of Parliament, that she would submit a bill to the Parliament authorizing her to assume an imperial title in connection with her Indian Empire, observes that, hitherto the English Crown considered the Native Princes as its allies, but after the assumption of the imperial title by Her Majesty they would be treated as feudatories.

8. *The Bombay Samachar of the 15th March* (p. 7) contains a leader, headed "The changes occurring in the policy of governing India". The Samachar regrets to see that such changes are being made in this policy as would make the Indian administration an arbitrary Government. It need not be told that the Government of England though a monarchy, is founded upon the principles of Republican Government and this form of rule still obtains in England. Englishmen are very jealous of maintaining this rule in its entirety, and would resent any attempt to alter it. The same kind of Government was given to India and promises were given that it would be continued in future. It is to be regretted that this form is being altered to an arbitrary Government. In England the king has no control on the laws nor on the judges who dispense justice according to these laws. In India the same was the case; but of late courts of justice have been to some extent brought under

the control of the administrators of the country, and latterly the power of the latter is being increased in this matter. The first step in this direction was the clothing of the Government of presidencies with power to appoint the judge of the High Courts. It has brought the independence of these courts under the control of these officers, and its effect has been felt since the last Mahomedan disturbances in Bombay. The next step in the same direction which has given both the judges and the people cause for dissatisfaction, is the Revenue Jurisdiction Bill, which is expected to be passed by the Imperial Legislature into a law in a day or two. By this law the revenue officers who are plaintiffs in revenue cases, will also become the judges in those cases; and the case regarding the village of Kobilpur and one or two other cases have sufficiently shown what kind of decisions these judges will give. Now a demand is made that the power possessed by the High Court over the Governor General be abolished completely, and the latter be clothed with authority over that court. Thus, while the courts of justice in England are not under the authority of the Queen, those of India are desired to be brought under that of her Viceroy. This demand would not appear strange when it is remembered that Sir George Campbell, the late Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, has made himself bold to tell the Parliament to consider the Viceroy of the same dignity as the great Mogal Emperors of India. Thus it is desired that the Indian Viceroy should be as arbitrary as a Mogal Emperor. The statement made by Sir George Campbell exposes the conduct of the Indian authorities and what kind of Government they wish to establish. Sir George says that the Viceroy should be considered of the same dignity as the great Mogul Emperor of India. But it appears he actually holds that dignity. The Viceroy possesses so much power that there is no one in India who has any control over him; and the High Court's authority over him is only nominal authority and it seems that the time has arrived to abolish even that nominal authority. The public press of the country possesses liberty to make comments on his acts which must produce some, even if little, effect. But signs are showing themselves that, that liberty is to be taken away. When this is the case, is not the Indian Viceroy a Mogal Emperor? On the other side the Secretary of State for India wants to become the Mogal Emperor. He wants to bring the Viceroy completely under control. A bill empowering the Secretary of State to discard or alter any portion of a law passed by the Governor General and to give that law any form he likes, has passed its second reading in parliament.

9. *The Shubha Suchak of the 21st April* opens with a leader, headed "A Comparison between the late and the present Mogals". The old Mogal Emperors were despotic rulers. They had neither

laws nor regulations, but their will was their law. The same was the case with their ignorant officers. Their actions, therefore, had no consistency of uniformity. Their religion was different from that of the people. They hated the religion of their subjects and prosecuted them for it. They openly plundered the people, but they never fleeced the ryots of their money under the pretence of doing them good. They were neither civilized not enlightened; but they never outwardly made profession that the happiness of the people was their happiness, and the welfare of the ryots their strength, they were in reality careless of the well being of the people and taxed them for their selfish ends. They were addicted to pleasure and luxury, and therefore patronized different arts and industries among the people. They were not particularly fond of creating lucrative posts for their own countrymen and therefore did not impose on the people harassing taxes. They were ignorant, but were conspicuous for their generosity. They were not traders and therefore, did nothing to destroy the trades and industries of the people, and thus to deprive them of the means of livelihood. The last mentioned was the most important point in the contrast under notice. The conduct of the English Mogals who at present rule over us, differs in many respects from the above. As to the side on which the superiority lies, this is a question of interest and deserves consideration. The Shubha Suchak sees nothing improper in giving the title of English Mogals to the present rulers of this country. For as Her Majesty has assumed Mogal title of Eadshah, Her English Officers great or small have now openly become, what they have been all along, virtually Nawabs. Like the old Mogals the English Mogals are despotic rulers The former resided at Delhi, the latter reside in London. Now we have plenty of laws and regulations; but they are iniquitous, that is the Lords of Delhi had their will for their laws, and the same is the case with the Lords of London. The only difference is that the will of the latter is reduced to writing. To the ryots the difference is not of much value. The officers of the former were whimsical, so are those of the latter, as we know from experience. The will-law of the former was extremely changeful; so also is the case with the arbitrary written law of the latter, as is proved by the over activity of our legislature bills. The present Badshas are also aliens in religion, and though they outwardly profess to have no desire to interfere with the religion of the people, they do not scruple to do it when an occasion requires it. They plunder the country of its wealth most openly under the shape of trade. The Honourable Mr. Hope had no hesitation in publicly declaring in the Legislative Council in the presence of His Excellency the Viceroy, that the traders of Manchester have an exclusive right of trading in this country, and if the Natives would presume to com-

pete with these heavenly people (the Manchester Merchants), they (the Natives) would be punished for their presumption. This plainly shows how the English Mogals plunder this country under the disguise of the law. They have reduced this country to helpless poverty. They are civilized and enlightened, but they are the slaves of race partiality and injustice, vices which civilized and enlightened men ought to shun as deadly foes. They are insincere. When they say that they wish to do good to the people, their saying may be invariably interpreted that they mean to do the opposite. Being foreigners they always contrive to benefit their own countrymen at the sacrifice of the Natives. After alluding to the creation of lucrative posts without any necessity for the benefit of European incumbents, to the imposition of harassing taxes such as that on salt, and to the exclusion of the Natives from high places, the writer goes on to say that English rulers are devoid of substantial generosity, though they are profuse enough in conferring empty titles. The recent visit of the future emperor to this country has confirmed the above view of the English character. The English have destroyed the trades and manufactures of this country and have deprived its people of their various means of earning a livelihood. The above comparison will prove very unpalatable to many English gentlemen. But truth compels the writer to state the facts as they are. The people expected a great change for the better from the nomination of the late Viceroy who belonged to the liberal party, but even in him they were doomed to be disappointed.

REMEDIES TO SECURE FREEDOM

'Swatantrata', February 1878, pp. 43 to 47

"પણ હવે આપણે 'આર્ય સ્વતંત્રતાનો વિજય તેજોમય' રાખવા શો યત્ન કરવો? આપણે કેવી યુક્તિ રમવી કે જેથી આપણા દેશનો ઉત્કર્ષ સત્વર થાય? આપણે સ્વતંત્ર સુખનો લહાવો જલ્દી કેમ લઈએ તે સંબંધી વિચાર પ્રથમ કરવો જોઈએ. આપણું ઐક્ય ત્રુટિત છે—આપણું શૌર્ય મંદાવસ્થા ભોગવે છે ને નિસ્તેજ પડી ગયું છે—આપણી પાસે દ્રવ્ય નથી અને તનના તુટેલા ને મનના ભાંગેલા છિએ; તો એક એવો ઉપાય કયો યોજવો કે જેથી આપણી ગયેલી સ્વતંત્રતા પાછી મેળવતાં ઝાઝો શ્રમ ન પડે? પૂર્વે કથી ગયા છીએ કે આપણે પરાધીનપણાના દુખમાં દટાયેલા છિએ—તો તેમાંથી મુકત થવા વાસ્તે નિરંતરની સુખદાયક સ્થિતિ ભોગવવા વાસ્તે એક એક કર્મ કરવું જોઈએ કે જેથી આપણે વગર હરકતે પુનઃ સ્વતંત્રતા સંપાદન કરીએ ને નિરંતરનું સુખ ભોગવિયે. આ પ્રૌઢ કાર્ય કરવામાં બુધ્ધિબળ—ઉદ્યમબળ—ને ધનબળની ઘણી જરુર છે. જ્યાં સુધી તેમ થશે નહિ ત્યાં સુધી આપણી ગયેલી સ્વતંત્રતા પાછી મેળવિયે તે દહાડો દર્લભ છે.....

"સ્વતંત્રતા સંપાદન કરવાના અનેક ઉપાય છે, પણ આપણી યશસ્વી કીર્તિને કલંક ન લાગે ને સ્વતંત્રતા મળે તેમ કરવું, એ સ્તુતિપાત્ર કર્મ છે. રાજદ્રોહનું ભૂત ઉભું કરવું એ દુનિયાની કાળી ટીલી કપાલે લગાડી, દુઃખ ઉત્પન્ન કરવાનું છે. પ્રભુ એ વિચાર અમારા દિલમાં ઉત્પન્ન કરે નહિ!

"કેટલાક બુધ્ધિમાન વીર પુરુષો છે.....તેઓ ઉઠો-ઉઠો ઉઠો ભાઈઓ, આલસ કહાડી ઉઠો ને સ્વતંત્રતા વાસ્તે તમારી ક્ષીણ થયેલી બુધ્ધિ બતાવો; ડરો નહિ—ડરશો તો તમે તમારો લાભ ગુમાવશો. ગમ ખાઈ બેસી રહેવાનો વખત ગયો.....હવે તો.....કામ કરવું જોઈએ.

"ગામે ગામ ને પ્રાંતે પ્રાંતના વિર પુરુષો એ પરસ્પરની અદેખાઈ તજી—કુસંપ કાયરતા ને જનાનીપણું મુકી, એક સંપનું એક સુઘટ રુપ ધડાઈ મેદાને પડવું.....

"હિન્દુસ્તાનના ધણાખરા આગેવાનોએ ઈંગ્લડ ભીડવું—શહેનશાહજાદિની ગાદી આગળ લાંબા છટ પડી વિનંતી કરવી ને કહેવું કે અમને અમારા ખરા ને વાજબી હક આપો ને તેમ ન કરો તો અમારા શરીર પરથી તમારો રથ હાંકી જાવ—મરવાને અમે ડરતા નથી. શું આટલું કરીશું તો આપણી સ્વતંત્રતા પાછી નહિ મળે?

છેલ્લે આર્યજનોને અમારી આટલી વિનંતિ છે કે, બીજાું સઘળું એક કોરે મૂકી, કમ્મર કસી, યોગ્ય ઉપાય સત્વર લેવા પત્તર થવું—ને જો તેમ થશે તો આપણી ગયેલી કીર્તિ પાછી સંપાદન કરી ધન, ધાન્ય, સંપત્તિ મેળવી, નિરંતરના સુંખમાં નિમગ્ન થઈ સતેજ પ્રકાશિત સ્વતંત્રતાના લહાવા લેશું, પ્રભુ! એ રુડા દિવસ સત્વર દેખાડો."

"GIVE US POLITICAL FREEDOM"

'Swatantrata' of March 1878 (pp. 50-54)

"અમને રાજકીય સ્વતંત્રતા આપો"—".....શું તમને રાજકીય સ્વતંત્રતા જોઈએ છે?" હા, અમને રાજકીય સ્વતંત્રતા જોઈએ છે—અમને અમારા રુડાંને વાસ્તે મોટા મોટા ઓધ્ધાની જગ્યા જોઈએ છે. અમને અમારા ખરા અને વાજબી હક જોઈએ છે—અમને દેશના રક્ષણાર્થે—દેશી પ્રદેશી પ્રજા પીડે તેમાંથી ઉગરવા માટે—સૈન્યમાં સૈન્યાનીની પદવી મેળવવા અતિશય જિજ્ઞાસા થાય છે—અને જ્યારે સમયે સમયે આ દેશના કુળહીન સત્તાધિકારીઓ—પોતાના સ્વાર્થને અર્થે—બુધ્ધિબલથી વિરુધ્ધ વર્તી—દેશની નિરબળ પ્રજા પર જુલમ પાડવાના તરંગો ઉઠાવે છે તેમાંથી ઉગરવા વાસ્તે પાર્લમેંટમાં પ્રતિનિધિ મોકલવાનો હક જોઈએ છે.....

".....અમે સારી રીતે જાણીયે છીયે કે કલમ-હથિયારથી સામા થયા વગર અમારા ખરા હક અમને મળનાર નથી.....રાજકીય સ્વતંત્રતા વાસ્તે અમે લડવા મેદાન પડયા છિએ ત્યારે અમારા પ્રતિપક્ષીઓ વિરુધ્ધ જશે અને અંગ્રેજી રાજ્યથી થયેલા લાભ નેત્ર સમિક્ષ ધારી કહેશે કે, "અંગ્રેજી રાજ્યથી આટલા આટલા રાજકીય સ્વતંત્રતા—સમાનતાના હક મળ્યા

છે ને તેનો યથેચ્છ નિર્ભયપણે ઉપયોગ કરો છો—બીજા દેશને રાજ્ય કરતાં ઉંચા અસાધારણ સુખ ભોગવો છો—એટલું છતાં વધારે રાજકીય સ્વતંત્રતાની કેમ ઈચ્છા કરો છો?....." મુસલમાનો કરતાં અંગ્રેજી રાજ્યમાં યશ સહિત વિશેષ સ્વતંત્રતા ભોગવિયે છિયે, તો પણ શું થયું? આથી વધારે સ્વતંત્રતા માગવાનો હમારો હક નથી? અથવા તો માગવાને અમે નાલાયક છીએ?..... વાસ્તવિક બોલિએ તો રાજ્ય અને રાજકીય સ્વતંત્રતા સંબંધી આર્યજનો કંઈજ જાણતા નથી એમ બીજી કોઈ પ્રજાને—વર્તમાન સ્થિતિ જોતાં માલમ પડશે.....તમારાથી (અંગ્રેજોથી) ગમે તેવા ઉંચા સુખ ભોગવીએ—ગમે તેવા વિલાસના સાહિત્યથી સુખ મળે—ગમે તેવા નિરભય રહીયે તો પણ તમે પ્રદેશી! ને તમે ઉંચા સુખ ભોગવી અમને દબાવતા અને દબાવતા રહો છો, તે અમારાથી સહન થાય? અમે પણ શુરવીર છિએ! જે હક તમે ભોગવો તે હક ભોગવવાને અમને પણ ઈશ્વરે કેમ ન સરજેલા હોય? માટે રાજકીય સ્વતંત્રતા માંગવાનો અમારો હક છે અને રાજકીય સ્વતંત્રતા ઉપભોગ કરવાને અમે પૂરેપુરા લાયક છિએ....."

".....હવે જ્યારે સ્વતંત્રતા તે શું—ને રાજકીય સ્વતંત્રતામાં બીજી સ્વછંદે વર્તનારા પ્રજા કરતાં અમે કેટલી ઉતરતી સ્થિતિના દાસ બન્યા છિએ તે સમજવા લાગ્યા અને બીજા કરતાં અમારી સ્થિતિ અધમ માલમ પડી ત્યારે અમારાથી ચઢતા જ્ઞાનબુધ્ધિબળના ભોકતા—જે અચલિત સ્વતંત્રતાનો ઉપભોગ કરે તે ઉપર અમે કેમ ન તાકીએ? તે મેળવવાને કેમ ન યત્ન કરીએ? અને સ્વતંત્રતા વગર ઉંચું સુખ કેમ ભોગવી શકીએ? વર્તમાન સ્થિતિ તો ગુલામી કરતાં પણ નપાતર છે! આફ્રિકાના નેતાલના રહીશ જેટલી પણ ભર્તખંડના આર્યોને સ્વતંત્રતા મળી નથી; એ કેવી અફસોસની વાત? ચાલુ સૌકામાં બ્રિટિશ સરકારે પોતાના કેદીઓને કેપ નાતાલમાં મોકલવાની ગોઠવણ કીધી હતી, પણ તે જંગલી-રાની-તે સાથ અજ્ઞાની સંસ્થાનીઓએ સામા ટક્કર લઈ તેમ નજ કરવા દીધું! રાની અને ગુલામી સ્થિતિના હબસીઓની આ બલિહારી છે! આ શું હિન્દુસ્થાનના વતનીઓને શરમ પહોચડનારું નથી? તેઓએ કોઈ પણ પ્રકારે ઠેઠ ઈંગ્લંડ સુધી લડી પોતાના સ્વતંત્ર હક મેળવી યશના હાર પેહેરવા જ જોઈએ.

THE MASSACRE OF THE INDIAN PRESS

'Swatantrata', March 1878, pp. 63-66

"દેશી છાપાની કતલ"

"વગર કારણે આ એક નવો કુકવો ઉભો થયો છે! હમે સમજીએ છે કે દેશી છાપાની કંઈ પણ વિના કારણ કતલ થઈ છે જે કારણ સરકારથી બતાવવામાં આવ્યા છે તે બીલકુલ નજીવાં, અસંતુષ્ટ અને કઈ પણ આંચકા સીવાય મુડદાલ કહી શકીએ તેવાં છે. કાયદાનો આધાર જ્યારે લુલો ત્યારે તેના અસત્ય મુલ તત્ત્વો છે. પક્ષાપાત તો દેખીતો જ કીધો છે કે વધારે ધાસ્તી રાખવા યોગ્ય અંગ્રેજ છાપાની છુટ રાખી ને થોડીજ દહેશત રાખવા યોગ્ય દેશી છાપાનો ડુઓ બનાવ્યો છે.....એમાં કંઈ પણ બહાદુરી દેખાડી છે એમ નથી જ. બીહીકણ અને વહેમી સ્વભાવ સાબેત કીધો છે.

"..... એથી હવે છાપખાનાવાળાઓને મોઢે સવામણનું તાળુ માર્યું છે....."

"અધીપતીઓનું અધીપતીપણું ભોગવવાને મેજીસ્ટ્રેટ અને પોલિસ કમીશનર લાયક બની ગયા છે!

"એક તરફથી રાજકીય સ્વતંત્રતા માંગો, કેળવણીના ફળવંત અશીરવાદોને પહોંચીને વાજબી છુટ તથા દાવાઓને માટે લડો; અને જે ટોળાંની દોરી પ્રજાને દોરવે છે તેનો જરા સ્પર્ષ કરવાને—રાજકીય સીમાઓમાં પ્રતિનીધી મોકલવાને વીનંતી ગુજારો પણ બીજી તરફથી સરકાર જે બક્ષીસો કરીને માન પામી છે તેને પાછી છીનવી લઈને પોતાની ભૂલ કબુલ કરે છે કે હમારે તમને, આટલા ઈનસાનીયતના હક પણ નહોતાજ આપવા જોઈતા તેની સાબેતી, જોતા જાઓ....."

COMPETENT TO ENJOY RIGHTS WHICH THE RULERS DENY (1879).

'Swatantrata' March-April 1879 p. 113

"We find just now at the present time in our country an increasing interest beginning to be felt among all the classes of people in the political events and situation of the day. Within a decade or the lapse of one generation, we have turned out far better or far better off than our forefathers. It is the result of the spread of education, no doubt, as is seen in the increasing number or superior quality of our newspapers, and periodicals, and the gradual strengthening of the native public opinion at large. But, more especially, it is the effect of the peculiar circumstances of this country and the policy which our rulers seem to pursue. The sign is healthful in its entirety and we can only wish for the day to speedily arrive when our countrymen may form, each and all, a vigorous body of advocates for themselves, both competent to lay claim to, and acquire, those rights and privileges which, as it must seem for the while, our rulers are fond of denying them at present." (Page 113).

INDIA vs. MANCHESTER

'Swatantrata' March-April 1879, Page 152

"અમે નિઃશકપણે કહીએ છે કે હિંદુસ્થાનના રાજ કરતાં, આ દેશ કરતાં, ઈંગ્લાંડના લાભ વધારે સારી રીતે સાચવે છે. માન્ચેસ્ટરના પેટભરા ને એકલપેટા આજ ત્રણ વરસ થયા કાપડની આયાત-જગાત કહાડી નખાવવા ખાઈ-પીને મંડયા હતા, તેને "નાણાની હાલત સુધરતાએ કહાડી નાંખવા" લોર્ડ લિટન વચનથી બંધાયો હતો તે વચન તે નામદારે પાલ્યુ છે. જ્યારે નાણાની હાલત સુધરવાને બદલે ઔર બગડી છ ત્યારે—હાય! હિન્દુસ્તાનની સરજતમાં ૨૦ લાખનો નવો કરભાર લખેલો તે કયાં જાય?.....આયાત જગાત

કહાડી નાખવામાં ગરીબોને એ કાપડ સસ્તુ મળે એવા માન્ચેસ્ટરનો હેતુ હતો, પણ ગરીબો એ કાપડ વાપરે છ કયાં? પણ આ તો માત્ર બહાનું છે! ગરીબોનાજ કાયદા માટે દેશને કેટલો ગેરલાભ થાય છે તેનો વિચાર કોઈએ કીધો નથી. જ્યારે વેપાર રોજગાર ઘળે નહિ ત્યારે રાજ્યકર્તાના આવા ધોરણથી પાયમાલ થયેલા હિન્દુસ્તાનનો નાશ નજદીક છે એ આપણે વીસરી જઈશું નહીં.....જ્યુપીટરની પ્રસન્નતા મેળવવા ઘેટાનું બળિદાન યોગ્ય નથી, તેની પ્રસન્નતા વાઘ, સિંહ કે વરુથી મળે છે. પણ હિંદુસ્તાનનું ભવિષ્ય નિર્માણ થઈ ચુકયું છે એટલે આપણે જે જે બોલીશું તે અઘટિત અને રાજદ્રોહી ગણાશે. એ પણ હિંદુસ્તાનનું પ્રારબ્ધ!"

A GLORIOUS VICTORY

Substance of an article which appeared in the *Swatantrata*, for January 1878

Friends, make rejoicings. For nearly two thousand years our Swatantrata has not shown its face..... Having become subjects of foreigners professing religions different from ours and having suffered boundless oppression, we have been and are in a state of dependence on other. We cannot do anything likely to promote the prosperity of the country. We have not become able to break the fetters of our slavery which have been firmly fixed on our legs. If, therefore, Swatantrata makes its appearance with smiling face, then remember that we *Aryas* shall again make brilliant manifestations of victory and preserve our fame undiminished. May Victory attend Swatantrata !

Is it or is it not necessary to make Swatantrata which has become lustreless bright and shining ? When the unbounded wealth of our country is carried away by foreigners, by cowardly efforts, when eminent persons like Lord Salisbury make secret endeavours not to give (to us people) appointments like those in the civil services, when selfish persons like Sir John Strachey with the view of running this country drown poor harmless and week people in a bottomless ocean of misery by suggesting plans for the imposition of oppressive taxes like the Income tax and the Licence tax, when a wise but selfish and not discriminating Viceroy like Lord Lytton gives his consent (to the same), when Government pass an act on every day and oppress people, when an improper tax is levied on an article like salt, when people whom self-interest has blinded, close the way to (the introduction of) arts and industries, who are alive to their own interests, successful and well informed, burn with jealousy when they view the prosperity of our country and commerce and resort to mean tricks, to set aside well considered schemes, when we cannot obtain our rights in time, when the yoke of oppression is put on us as if we were helpless slaves, should

we not become independent for our rights? How long shall we suffer ourselves to remain in this dependent condition? The misery arising from being in a state of dependence is very painful. This state of dependence cannot now be endured. The things have gone to extremes. We have suffered much. There is nothing left which we have not suffered. We have been treated as slaves. With faces exciting pity and accompanied by supplications calculated to melt even a stone, we in our afflictions asked for our Swatantrata. But who attended to our supplications? We are considered as troublesome. They how long should we now continue to sit in corners like helpless widows? Friends, This slavery cannot be endured. Swatantrata is the mansion of success and happiness. Swatantrata causes the celebration of festivities at proper times. O! Beloved Swatantrata—thy success always gives happiness. Make us move in the sweet ocean of that happiness so that we may again acquire our glorious fame which has become lustreless.

IF NATIVES WITHDRAW FROM SERVICE

(Shiwaji—26th November—R. N. P.—4th December 1880, page 4, paragraph 1)

The Shiwaji (17) of the 26th November says that the British Government, were at first very anxious to give the natives of this country an English education, but when they saw that the latter were only too eager to avail themselves of the opportunity, they became anxious to retrace their steps. The rulers thereupon accused the natives of being slavish imitators and of having no independent opinion of their own; the latter, however, were not backward in disproving that accusation by means of the publication of hundreds of books and newspapers in the vernaculars. Thereupon the rulers became afraid of this manifestation of an independent spirit, and suppressed all honest criticism of their acts by passing the Vernacular Press Act. The natives were also declared to be unfit to serve in the higher ranks of the public service; whereupon some of them went to England and successfully competed with Englishmen at the Civil Service Examination. When the rulers saw this, they became afraid and reduced the condition of age to nineteen years, in order to effectually debar the natives from appearing at those examinations. It was then publicly suggested to the natives that they should not depend much on Government service, but engage in mercantile pursuits; but when they set themselves in earnest to produce their own cloth in different parts of the country, the Secretary of State for India came in to the relief of the Manchester traders, and abolished the import duty on English cotton goods. In fact it is not the intention of the rulers to allow the

natives to prevent the importation of English goods by the growth of home manufactures. If the natives set themselves to point out to the rulers the defects in their system of administration, the latter tell them that it is no business of theirs to do so, and that they should first devote their attention to the amelioration of their social condition but those who follow this wholesome advice, find themselves in the position of jackdaws, being deserted by their own countrymen and laughed at by the rulers for their imitativeness and want of self-respect and patriotism. If the natives show their competency for responsible posts in the army and the police, they are told that those places are not for them. The natives dare not even ask to be allowed to serve as Volunteers. The only thing expected from them is that they should anyhow keep the public treasury well filled. Inspite of the degraded condition of the natives, however, it is gratifying that it is simply owing to them that all the departments of State are carried on smoothly. If the natives were to withdraw themselves from Government service altogether, the Government would be unable to move forward one inch. So also if the natives were not to express their views in the newspapers, thousands of the ignorant peasantry would not hesitate to break out into riots. It is, therefore, reasonable to expect Government to be grateful to the natives for their supplying it with useful information inspite of the dishonour and neglect to which they are subject.

DISADVANTAGE RESULTING FROM THE BRITISH CONQUEST OF INDIA

(R. N. P. 31st December 1881 p. 6 Pr. 2)

The Nibandh Mala (34) for the month of June 1881 but published in November last contains a long essay on the disadvantages resulting to India from the British conquest. The writer says that nothing can compensate a nation for the loss of freedom. In the last century the wealth, the power and the learning of the Hindus was a reality, but now the same words do not convey the same ideas. All the native princes in India, whether great or small, are mere puppets in the hands of their respective Political Agents. Their armies are undisciplined and insignificant. The wealth of the Hindus is as little respected now as that possessed by courtesans. In point of learning the Hindus are nowhere now when compared with Western nations. The trades and industries of India are now things of the past. For every article of consumption the natives have to depend upon foreign importation. In the matter of religion the state of the people is really pitiable. They imitate Christians and believe that their mode of devotion is the only way of salvation. The whole land is under the subjection

of Englishmen, who first entered it by flattering the then rulers. These Englishmen impose taxation at their pleasure and spend the proceeds as they please. The condition of the natives is not better than that of the lower animals. Some English statesmen assert that they acquired possession of India from purely benevolent motives and with the view of benefitting its people, and that they would leave it as soon as their object was accomplished. This declaration is however, very wide of the truth. The means by which the conquest of India was effected will not bear investigation. The inhabitants of India would not have suffered if England had not conquered them. In the course of time they would have driven the Mohomedans from their country and liberated themselves from foreign yoke. The loss of freedom comes in the way of the advancement of the natives at every turn. If new industries are started, a single circular from the Legislative Council is sufficient to nip them in the bud. The merchants of Manchester are the brethern of the rulers of India and their cries are sympathetically heard. Those natives who pass through the University Course are advised by the Chancellor to devote their energies to the improvement of their ignorant fellow-subjects, so that they may come to know their rights and privileges. They are also advised to teach their brethern to sing the praises of the English Government who has done so much for them. They are moreover told not to look up to public service for employment, and yet the same Government spends two lakhs of rupees on Cooper's Hill College for the education of lads who on setting their foot on the Indian soil commence with a salary of Rs. 300 per mensem. Besides men like Messrs. Forest and Larkin are employed as teachers in Government institutions, who do not possess the slightest qualification for the duties which they have to perform. The greatest disadvantage, however, which has resulted from foreign domination is the degradation of the intellect. A man who is accustomed to servility loses by degrees self-respect, courage and shame and contracts various vices. Such is the present deplorable condition of the natives. The spread of education has undoubtedly not produced any good result worth noticing.

WHAT IS INDIA ?

(R. N. P. 10th September 1881, page 9, paragraph 1)

The Gujerati (73) of the 4th September gives among others the following answers to the question "What is India" ? Which it says, has been put by one of the English newspapers. India is a being devoid of flesh and blood : it brightens every corner of the world, but its own condition is pitiful : it is peopled by 25 crores of crea-

tures, not one of whom has the rights of man ; England lives upon it, but is indifferent to the support of her supporters : its people are brave, but they live in subjection to those who live five thousand miles away : it maintains in pomp those who come from England, but its own children are left to starve : it pays directly 20 crores of rupees annually to England, in return of which England sends out imperialistic rulers, some of them sons of sweepers, others of growers of potatoes and others of labourers, who forgetting their own descent, trample upon great Rajas : it bestows indirectly crores of rupees upon England through its merchants, and in return accepts worthless English productions : the majority of its people have delicate spleens which the English are always ready to rupture : it is the country where justice is not done between the native and the foreigner : it is the country where every moment the Englishmen are favoured and natives left out in the cold : it is the country where 60,000 Englishmen carry on the Government in various capacities and drive 20 crores of people after one uniform fashion (so many shepherds would not suffice for so many sheep) : it is the country which was ruled over by that great oppressor Lord Lytton, where John Strachey made his financial muddle, on whose behalf Messrs. Gladstone, Bright and Fawcett carry on ingenious discussions in England, which always end in nothing, and where every officer is at liberty to oppress, for there is no one to call him to account for his oppression.

DEGRADATION OF THE NATIVES OF INDIA

(R. N. P. 10th June 1882, page 3 para. 1)

The Kesari (31) of the 6th June, in a leading article says that since the conquest of India by the English the natives have become thoroughly imbecile and enervated. The people are prohibited from using arms of any kind, and hence from want of practice they do not know how to handle a sword or to fire a gun. The English, from selfish motives and in utter disregard of the interests of natives, have disarmed the whole population, and persons of the higher and middle classes are denied admittance into the army. Owing to the exclusion of respectable natives from the administration and from the army they have become merely sensualists. Should the English ever have to leave India as the Romans were oblidged to leave Briton, they will have the satisfaction of knowing that before their departure they had effected the thorough ruin of the people. Tranquillity is a good thing in itself, but too much value ought not to be attached to it. The disorder and confusion which prevailed in India after the destruction of the Mogul Empire was not worse that the disorder and confusion which existed in England during the wars of the Roses and

the time of Charles I. A continued state of commotion is by no means the worst condition of things to live in. The English Government have done nothing to train the inhabitants of India to self-government. They dislike any criticism emanating from the latter. The policy of the English nation appears to keep India in a state of complete subjection and helplessness.

POLITICAL AGENTS IN THE NATIVE STATES

R. N. P. J. D. Volume No. 101 of 1882

The Indu Prakash (9) of the 6th March, in an article headed "Native States and Political Agents", says :—It is fairly within the everyday experience of those who have anything to do with Native States that the Political Agents are doing more harm than good by unnecessary interference with their internal management, and that instead of guiding they are ruling them. The object of the British Government in keeping these Native States and maintaining them in their integrity is often forgotten and whether it is the nomination of a Divan or the presence of the prince at Darbar, the whim of the Political Agent has come to be looked upon as the first thing to be consulted. The policy which allows the Native States to exist is not quite meaningless, and it is a policy which, in a certain way, promotes the safety and conduces to the benefit of the British Government itself. The fact can no longer be denied that the ways and manners of that Government are not the ways and manners to which the people of India have for centuries been accustomed, and lest the introduction of those ways and manners should lead the people to suppose that all that was theirs was gone, these Native States are maintained. To them can the people of India turn and point as the living symbols of their national existence; and it is there that Native ambition can have its scope unfettered by the foreign elements of thought and rule. The Political Agent is nominated simply to see that anarchy does not reign in the states. But that does not mean, nor was it, we presume, ever intended to mean, that by reason of this authority the Political Agent should stretch it beyond the limits demanded by reason and justice and degrade the prince to the level of a mere subordinate. We have reason to think that this policy of imprudent interference is proving, or threatens to prove, a source of mischief. At present it will be sufficient to draw the attention of the public to the point itself, without in any way indicating the direction from which its practical importance will sooner or later be felt. The treaties entered into by the British Government with some of the princes provide that in nominating their Divans they should consult the Paramount Power. This pro-

vision was certainly not meant to deprive the princes of any voice in the matter. Such a supposition would only lead to the conclusion that the British Government wished to reduce the princes to a state of subjection even as regards their internal affairs. But what more or less happens is that whenever any such question crops up, the Political Agent interferes and insists on having it in his own way. If the prince chooses a man in whom he has confidence, there is no reason why the appointment should not be upheld, or why the Political Agent should persist in selecting a creature of his own and not the one selected by the prince. It is the prince who governs or has at least the right to govern, and not the Political Agent. But this consideration weighs not with the latter, and this practically leads to a quarrel. The prince divided against the Political Agent, and the courtiers divided against themselves, only serve to create confusion in the state administration. Now, this is just what could not have been intended by the British Government in appointing a Political Agent. Having frequently pledged itself distinctly to its resolve that it shall be its effort to maintain the Native States in their integrity and independence, the Government is bound to see that the Political Agents do not take advantage of their positions and make a mockery of its own pledges. Why a Political Agent should put himself in opposition to a prince, simply because the latter wishes to have a man in whom he has confidence for his Divan, it is difficult to understand. The Agent's duty is to guide and not to control. But this is just the thing he hates to do. It is time such a state of things should be put a stop to and some prudent limit assigned to the powers of the Political Officers. They are practically irresponsible, and are more inclined to take the government of the states to which they are nominated into their own hands, and reduce the Princes to the position of subordinates.

BRITANNIA MUST CHANGE HER POLICY WITH REGARD TO INDIA

R. N. P. 22ND JUNE 1883, PAGE 3 PARA. 1

The Gujarati (94) of the 27th May contains an article commenting in a rather severe tone on the policy of the British Government in India in the form of an address to Babu Lal Mohan Ghose embodying India's message to Britannia. Let Britannia know that her domination in India was not won and is not maintained by the strength of the sword. The circumstances under which she succeeded in gaining her object were briefly these. When Hindus and Musalmans were trying hard to overthrow each other, Britannia had nothing to lose but much to accomplish, and therefore she thrust her nose

wherever possible without being invited to do so. She thus gained her object at the sacrifice of poor Rajas and Ranas. This was the key of her success. Let all the Britons know that their brethren in the far East have taken to tormenting the people, but we will not bear it long. We owe you no political debt, and if we do, better take it and clear off. But as among men, there must be independence, equality and friendship. Oh Britannia ! better continue the same wise policy as thou didst adopt at the time of winning the kingdom. When thou didst set thy foot on this land there were disturbance and internecine warfare everywhere, and thou didst try to secure tranquillity by various political tricks ; and why shouldst thou now try to break that peace ? If thou didst so, would thy sons enjoy the fruits of their labour ? Thou once didst make a firm resolve not to interfere in the religious observances of the people, because thou art not internally pure and hast no faith in religion. And if thou now thinkest of violating that pledge of neutrality, thou art welcome to do so. But remember the bloody days of Queen Mary ! But if thou dost give injustice to India's sons where justice is due ; if thou dost try to take away their bread ; if thou comest in the way of their acquiring proficiency in particular arts and industries ; if thou triest to insult them intentionally—then India and India's sons will not brook it. We may spare our lives, but not our honour. Let Britannia not bring a stain on her fair justice,—let her devise measures for the protection of the religion and independence of the people of India, Last, but not least let Britannia know that it is very unjust that her Parliament should try to exercise authority in India without sanction, and let her therefore admit a few representatives of India in that body.

THE BRITISH SHOULD LEAVE INDIA

(R. N. P. 14th April 1884, paragraph 2)

The *Samsher Bahadur* (106) of the 6th April, in a communicated article headed " The English should leave India ! ", observes that if the British Government were to think of leaving this country and returning to England, their action would be considered very noble. No means would be spared to commemorate their name in India. But all this is outward show. Their real aim must be to squeeze India, and enrich England. With a view to annoy the natives of this country several Europeans say that India is a burden to England and it would be better to let her alone. Others advocate the retention of India on purely benevolent principles and express apprehensions that if the English returned to their country India will be a scene of civil and internecine war and confusion, and that Russia or Afganistan will

take the opportunity of making an advance. Others again are of opinion that as some time English soldiers will have to shed their blood in doing this benevolent act, the English should take the earliest opportunity of retiring from this country. Europeans holding such different views are to be met with both in England and in India. The greatness and position of England as one of the Great Powers are owing to India. Crores of rupees are drained off to England in various shapes every year. Thousands of England's sons find a livelihood in the country. Under these circumstances to say that India is a burden and that the British administration of this country is carried on out of benevolence and for the preservation of order in the land is nothing short of deceit. If India is governed by the English out of benevolence, and if she is a burden to her, England can safely retire from the country. The Indians would gladly take this burden upon themselves and take care of their own interests.

POVERTY OF INDIA

R. N. P., J. D. Volume 82-A of 1884

The Sind Times (5) of the 20th May, in an article headed "The Poverty of India", refers to the controversy going on between the Pioneer and the Indian Mirror newspapers regarding the merits and demerits of British rule in India, tries to show that the excess of exports over imports in the case of India is equivalent to an annual plunder by a foreign invader or an annual subsidy to a foreign foe, denies that the analogy of America is applicable to this country in this respect and observes:—Thus then India during 1882-83 paid a tribute of no less than 45 millions to England, and the drain in 1883-84 will be at least the same, if not more. It is estimated that the spoliation of India by Nadir Shah did not exceed £32,000,000. That spoliation did not recur every year, while now India has to pay about 45 millions annually to England. No wonder that an entire fifth of the Indian population, to quote Dr. Hunter, "go through life on insufficient food". That India is poor cannot be denied. That her poverty is due to this annual depletion of her resources cannot be gainsaid. That this depletion of her resources means misery can only be controverted by paradoxical doctrinaires. It may be that the Indian people were equally miserable under Native or Mahomedan rule, but on that precedent Englishmen do not wish to rely. It is true that poverty is only one of the factors which go to make a people unhappy. It may be that the remaining factors are wanting in British rule. The British administration has its redeeming feature no doubt. But its best well-wishers cannot but look with dismay on the financial drain to which it has subjected India. If it is the

mission of England to bring peace and happiness to India, she cannot do better than look to the ugly fact of her dependency's increasing poverty in the face, curtail her demands, reduce expenditure, and in time heal the wounds which threaten to bleed her to death.

"MONOPOLY OF HIGH OFFICES IN INDIA ENJOYED BY EUROPEANS AND ITS SAD CONSEQUENCES"

R. N. P. 9th February 1884, page 3, paragraph 1

The Dnyan Prakash (8) quotes an extract from a "Lady's Letter" from London which appeared in the weekly edition of the Times of India for the 19th January 1884, alluding to a complaint about the monopoly of high offices enjoyed by the German relatives of the Royal Family, and observing that England for the English might well be the cry of that country and especially of those who after long years of service find some raw youth promoted over their heads, and remarks :—Now the great reflection which the careful perusal of the foregoing extract suggests naturally is that if such be the feelings of Englishmen or at least of a large section of them in consequence of some half a dozen or dozen lucrative appointments in the British service being held by foreigners or "these German relatives of our Royalties" what must be the feeling of the Natives of India when they see not a portion but all the lucrative appointments in their country monopolized by foreigners? There is certainly no dearth of intelligence, ability and intergrity in the country, as can be easily seen from the fact that some of our biggest Native States have prospered and are prospering to this day under enlightened administration of purely Native rulers. In British India there is no field for a Salar Jang, a Dinkar Rao, a Rangacharlu, a Madhavrao, a Sheshaya Shastri and host of others that can be named. In this respect the present condition of India is quite without a parallel in the annals of history. The relatives and friends of those high in authority, who fail to enter the sacred ranks of the Civil or other Covenanted Services, are pitchforked into the highly-paid posts in the lower service. In short, it may be said without the slightest exaggeration that India is now a rich preserve for Englishmen of all ranks, no matter though their qualifications and abilities are in no way more marked than those of their Native competitors. It is even well-known that under some plausible plea or other many appointments are created for the benefit of Europeans. We shall name an instance in point. It is not considered sufficient now if the head of the District Police is a European officer; he must needs have one or two probationers under him to qualify themselves as his Assistants. Such probationers, who are of course Europeans, have been recently appointed to almost every

district. In short the feeling of indignation in the country at the multiplication of offices, held by Europeans is growing more and more intense ; and the people are gradually realizing to themselves the inherent injustice and hardship of the procedure adopted in disposing of the higher appointments in the gift of the Government of the country. If half a dozen or a dozen appointments held by foreigners in England, or, to speak more accurately, by "these German relatives of our Royalties" are "almost enough to make one radical, what should be the feelings, we earnestly ask, of the Natives of India when they find themselves religiously excluded from every lucrative and important office and when they see that India exists for all practical purposes for Englishmen and not for themselves? And when concession to Native aspirations and ambition are grudgingly made, and when no pains are spared to deprive the concession of more than half its value, the people are expected to be thankful for these small mercies and to remain ever contended and loyal to their heart's core ! Those people who raise the cry of "England for the English", (and we must here observe that we thoroughly sympathise with them, though the evil complained of appears to us to be so small as to be almost insignificant,) ought certainly to be able to realize to themselves in a fair degree the feelings of the Natives of India. The magnitude of the evil from which we suffer is infinitely greater than that of the evil which has found an expression in the letter in the Times of India from which we have given an extract. If Englishmen had suffered in this respect to half the extent to which we in India suffer, we have no doubt that they would have all turned "radical" and would have made one successful effort to put a stop to the evil. It is only the Indian population that can put up with such an evil generation after generation. But patient and enduring as the Indian population undoubtedly and admittedly is, there is a limit to everything human, and we should not be true to ourselves and to our duty if we did not warn our rulers that unless they mend their ways in due time the inevitable result must follow—a result the magnitude of which will startle the world, and before which the grandest revolution that the world has ever seen will sink into insignificance. What the end of the British rule will be no one can foretell, but we agree with Sir Arthur Hobhouse in holding that its end will be as unprecedented as its beginning has been.

"THE POWER OF IMPRISONING POLITICAL OFFENDERS WITHOUT TRIAL, EMPLOYED BY THE VICEROY SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO CONTINUE"

R. N. P. 16th February 1884, page 4, paragraph 1

In alluding to the circumstances under which one Ranjit Singh committed suicide in the Lahore Jail, the Bombay Samachar (91) of the 14th February observes :—

The event is full of significance and it will not do to trifle with it as some Anglo-Indian journals have thought fit to do. It raises various questions which demand serious attention. It is said that the deceased was confined in the Lahore Jail as a political prisoner in 1871 on a simple order from the Governor General, but what the offence was for which this punishment was inflicted and why the prisoner was kept in confinement so long without being tried by a judicial tribunal are questions which should engage the prompt attention of the Viceroy. We must first know whether Lord Ripon was made aware of the existence of such a political prisoner and whether any arrangements at present exist for giving information on the subject to a new Viceroy and other officers. If no such arrangements exist it must indeed be considered a matter of great injustice and steps ought to be taken to remedy this serious defect in the administration. But then where is the necessity of arming an Indian Viceroy with power to imprison a subject by a simple mandate of his own without resorting to a public trial ? Not only in this but in many other instances this power has been used with great severity. Such power is not enjoyed even by the authorities in England and it does not appear to have been exercised even in the case of the Irish rebels. In a country like Russia such autocracy prevails to a great extent and it rebounds greatly to the credit of England that its exercise is strongly animadverted upon by the English press and that it does not exist in that country. The present laws are so strict and the judicial tribunals are generally so independent that they can bring to justice a political offender of any description. Why then should the exercise of such power, which is only compatible with a state of barbarity and the sway of an autocratic ruler, be allowed to continue ?

FIRST ALL INDIA EDITORS' OPPOSITION TO PRESS RESTRICTIONS

CALCUTTA PRESS CONFERENCE, 1878

[The Indian editors who had gathered in Delhi on the invitation of

the Viceroy presented an address of welcome to him and conveyed their apprehension about impending press restrictions to him; but the Viceroy did not pay any heed to their request and the notorious Vernacular Press Act was passed. This Act caused great concern among Indian politicians. Never before, it appears, leaders from all over the country had assembled for tackling political problems as national problems. From this point of view the conference of Indian Journalists held in Calcutta on the 14th January 1878, is very important and unique. Perhaps this was the first constitutional and organized resistance on all Indian basis and as such the history of this conference is of great significance.]

The report of this conference as it has appeared in *Hindu Patriot* (22-1-1878) of Calcutta edited by the late Sir Surendranath Banerji is quoted below :

"THE MEETING AGAINST THE VERNACULAR PRESS ACT

"For many years past Calcutta had not seen such a crowded and enthusiastic meeting as was held at Town Hall on Wednesday last. From three to four thousand persons were present, and the meeting lasted for about three to four hours. We are glad to note the tone of the meeting was thoroughly loyal.

Resolution I

"That of manifold blessings which have been conferred by the English Nation and the English Government on the people of this country, they have esteemed the freedom of the press as one of the greatest, as it has been of immeasurable service in helping the cause of their intellectual, moral and political progress. This meeting, therefore, deeply deplores the withdrawal of this inestimable boon so far as a most important section of the press is concerned, by the passing of the Vernacular Press Act and desires to place on record its deliberate opinion that the Act is calculated to restrain the legitimate freedom of discussion which the vernacular press had up to this time enjoyed and by shutting up the natural outlet of popular opinion and feeling to produce the very evils of popular discontent and dissatisfaction which it is intended to prevent, to arrest the development of oriental literature and to deal a serious blow to the cause of native progress and good Government in India."

Proposed by the Rev. K. S. Macdonald.

Seconded by Baboo Rashbihari Ghose.

Resolution II

That having regard to the devoted loyalty and attachment of the people of India to the British crown, to which willing and ungrudging testimony has from time to time been borne by many high and distinguished authorities both here and in England, to the peace and contentment that reign throughout the country, this meeting desires to record its emphatic opinion that a repressive and retrograde measure like the Vernacular Press Act is unnecessary and uncalled for and is opposed to the interests of Justice, as it altogether dispenses with the usual safeguards of Judicial investigation and substitutes in their place the discretionary authority of executive officers.

Proposed by Baboo Surendranath Banerjee.

Seconded by Mr. H. R. Fink.

Resolution III

This meeting deply regrets the undue and unnecessary haste with which the measure was carried through the Supreme Council, the bill having been introduced and become law at one and the same sitting, the public having been thereby denied the opportunity of discussing the provisions of Law affecting so vitally the interests of the native population of India.

Proposed by Baboo Bhairabchandra Banerjee.

Seconded by Baboo Kanticharan Banerjee.

Resolution IV

That the following gentlemen form themselves into a committee with power to add to their number with a view to frame a memorial based upon the resolution of Commons to obtain the signature thereto and to take such other steps as may be deemed necessary for transmitting it to parliament and also to publish the translation of those articles in the Vernacular papers on which the Vernacular Press Act is supposed to be founded and to take such other measures as may be thought advisable for the purpose of laying before the English public a correct representation of the state and character of the vernacular Press.

Proposed by Baboo Digendranath Tagore.

Seconded by Prabodh Chandra Mullick.

Resolution V

That this meeting feels deeply grateful to those Hon'ble members of parliament who, on behalf of the unrepresented millions of India, have already lent their powerful aid in the discussion of the policy and merits of the Vernacular Press Act in the House of Commons, and the right Hon'ble Gladstone, whose earnest and eloquent advocacy of the cause of suffering humanity, of progressive civilization and freedom of speech, has made his name dear to all lovers of progress, be respectfully solicited to present the petition to parliament.

Proposed : Baboo Jogesh Chandra Datta.

Seconded : Baboo Nobogopal Mittra.

The resolutions correctly represent the native feelings on the subject. Indeed from one end of the country to the other there is but one feeling regarding it. Not that really good and sensible people sympathise with the rabid Vernacular papers, happily their number is not large on the contrary they condemn these papers as much as any Englishman—but they are convinced that nothing that these papers may write can do harm to Government. The British Government in India stands on a rock, from which the murmuring eddies of Vernacular journalism cannot dislodge it. Time and Education are the best cures of the evils with which the Vernacular press is charged. To cut the tongue of the whole Vernacular Press for the sake of a few wild young men is neither just nor statesmanlike. Indeed to do so is to lay the axe at the root of national progress and regeneration and it is this fooling which leads the nation to regard the new Act with dismay, distrust and regret." (Hindu Patriot, Calcutta, 22nd January 1878).

In anticipation of the press restrictions Indian editors had started the agitation early in January 1878. In fact, as stated above, they had started it at the time of the Delhi Darbar. This agitation was carried on throughout the country. The Act was brought into force before the conference in Bombay was held on the 28th March 1878. The agitation was carried on even after the passage of the Act. Public meetings to protest against this Act were held in Calcutta, Bombay, Poona and also in London. The London meeting, it appears, was presided over by Raja Rampal Singh and was addressed by G. M. Tagore, Bar-at-Law and a Committee was appointed with Mr. Basudeo Rao Dhairyavan as the Secretary. The Calcutta meeting which was held on 17th April 1878, was presided over by Mr. Macdonald. The Bombay meeting was presided over by Mr. K. T. Telang. The Poona

meeting was presided over by Rao Saheb K. N. Nulkar, where a memorandum was read out and unanimously passed.

Some of the Anglo-Indian papers also opposed the restrictions. These include (1) The Times of India, (2) The Bombay Gazette, (3) Civil and Military Gazette, (4) Madras Mail, (5) Madras Times, (6) Himalayan Chronicle, (7) Railway Service Gazette, (8) Indian Representative, (9) Railway Chronicle.

THE ACT WAS MODIFIED

The most obnoxious part of this Act was the famous section 124A which took so many victims from Indian journalists. So many Englishmen including some of the M. P.'s did not like some of the provisions of this Act. Mr. Gladstone himself had presented the Memoranda sent by Calcutta and Poona public meetings to the Secretary of State for India and had brought amendments to delete certain clauses. It appears that as a result of this agitation the Act was modified and the obnoxious section of pre-censorship was deleted. Thus did Indian editors succeed to certain extent in their first all India agitation.

BOMBAY CONFERENCE OF THE NATIVE PRESS

(Report of the Bombay Times of 30-3-1878)

"Yesterday at the Framjee Cawasjee Institute a meeting of the representatives of the native Press in Bombay and the mofussil initiated by the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha was held at which the English Editor of Indu Prakash Mr. Janardhan Sunderjee Kirtikar presided. The meeting was very poorly attended and amongst those present were but a few men of any influence and standing. Of those unconnected with the vernacular press there were present M/s. Nanabhoy Byramjee, Jeejeebhoy, Phirojshah Mehta, Cawasjee Jahangir, Kashinath Trimbak Telang and others. The Native Press was represented by the editors of Rast Goftar—The Bombay Samachar, Indu Prakash, The Arya Prakash & Swadesh Mitra.

The Chairman in opening the meeting said this conference had been called here in accordance with the notification or rather wishes of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha which had been communicated to the editors of several native papers throughout the Presidency and most of these papers were represented there.

It was proposed that the conference should hold meetings of its

members of newspapers at least once a year and that they should discuss subjects which were of importance to the country or to the interests of Native Press and a meeting at this place was arranged after the model of a conference which was held in Calcutta on 14th January 1878. That conference was a great success and it was to be hoped that the present proposed conference would act in co-operation with that of Calcutta and other provinces of India in General. It was to be hoped some substantial work would be done in the interests of the Native Press.

Mr. Manekjee M. Cawasjee (Editor, Satya Mitra) Proposed :—

"That this meeting recognising the desirability of having such a body to look after the interests of the Press resolved that a conference of the Native Press of Western India be established at Bombay. The Editors and representatives present being the past members and editors of every newspaper periodical and magazine being eligible to be members."

Mr. N. M. Paranjpe next proposed :—

"With a view to promote mental sympathy and co-operation among the members of the Native Press to foster among them harmony and similar views as far as possible on questions of National policy and interest and to diffuse among them a proper sense of their duties and rights a meeting of their representatives be held at least once a year to promote the above objects."

He was seconded by Mr. Sitaram Chivulkar (Editor, Dnyan Prakash).

Mr. K. N. Kabrajee (Editor, Rast Gofter) said, "He did not understand the object of the 2nd resolution. If they were about to start a society they ought to proceed in a regular manner. They must first elect members, then have a meeting of those members and draft out certain rules for the management and finally appoint a managing committee defining its provinces properly.

"There was a great deal of work to be attached to and if the members of the conference confined themselves to bettering themselves, i.e., the Native Press they would have enough to do. There were so many matters to be discussed with reference to the Native Press and its relations with Government that it would be much better to define exactly what the conference intended to do. Further the discussions must be confined to members of the Press only.

The speaker would ask them to be careful that the membership should be restricted to the more respectable portion of the Native Press and to papers that were conducted in a thoroughly respectable manner as to render their opinion of some weight—papers, he meant, that were not likely to abuse their privileges. The subject was one of paramount importance to the Press and their first consideration ought to be 'who are to form this body?' He did not wish it to be understood that because a paper was poor it ought to be rejected from the conference but he wanted to impress upon the meeting the desirability of making some restrictions as to the conduct and behaviour of those editors who formed that Body. He thought that the resolution should clearly define the work to be done as well as the province and exact position of the society. First he would like to know how the conference at Calcutta had been formed and with what object. He noticed around him several gentlemen who were not connected with the papers, and he was glad to do so as it showed the interest they took on the question but he was sure they would like more detailed information to be given."

One or two suggested proceedings to be translated in Marathi, Gujarathi.

Mr. Ratnaghar said this was to be postponed as the place was not matured and not properly placed before the meeting. It was by no means an influential meeting and would have no weight. They further did not appear to know what they were to do. The public were invited through the papers but this was a private meeting of the members and they ought not to have attended.

The chairman in putting the 2nd resolution said they ought to have more detailed information as to the objects of the conference. That could not be in a preliminary meeting such as the present and only a general idea of what was intended was to be given

The Committee of management was as follows :

Chairman.—Janardhan Sunderjee Kirtikar (Indu Prakash).

Vice Chairman.—K. N. Kabrajee.

Mr. K. K. Prabhudas proposed that thanks of this conference be given to M/s. Ganesh Wasudeo Joshi and Sadashiv Ballal Govinday and the Sarvajnik Sabha for the interest they have taken and the exertions they have made towards the establishment of this conference.

हिंदुस्थानांतील नेटिव वर्तमानपत्रकर्त्यांची सभा.

[कलकत्त्यास ता. १४ जानेवारी १८७८ रोजीं झालेल्या "प्रकाशन नियंत्रण कायद्या" विषयीं (An Act for the Better Control of Publications in Oriental Languages) लोकमत व्यक्त करण्यासाठीं झालेल्या परिषदेच्या वेळींच नेटिव्ह संपादकांची संघटना करण्यासाठीं आणखी एक वेगळी बैठक झालेली दिसते. पहिल्या (दि. १४ च्या) बैठकींत नियंत्रण कायद्याविरुद्ध लोकमत व्यक्त करणारे ठराव झाले. तर या वेगळ्या बैठकींत फक्त संपादक संघटनेचा विचार झाला. दोन्हीं बैठका भरविण्यांत कै. श्री. गणेश वासुदेव ऊर्फ सार्वजनिक काका जोशी आणि कै. दि. ब. गोवंडे यांनीं पुढाकार घेतल्याचें दिसतें. (खालील दिलेले उतारे मूळाबरोबर ताडून पहाणें शक्य झालें नाहीं. वऱ्हाडसमाचार पत्राचे संपादक श्री. खंडेराव बाळाजी फडके हे होते आणि तें पत्र इ. स. १८६५ मध्यें अमरावती येथें सुरू झालें. श्री. फडके यांनी १८६८ मध्यें त्याचें संपादकत्व घेतलें.)]

नेटिव वर्तमानपत्रकर्त्यांची सभा

[Vide—वऱ्हाड समाचार—३ फेब्रुवारी १८७८]

रावबहादूर सदाशिव बल्लाळ गौंडे व रा. रा. गणेश वासुदेव जोशी यांनीं बंगाल इलाख्यांतील व कलकत्त्यांतील वर्तमानपत्रकर्ते व इतर थोर गृहस्थांस कॉन्फरन्सकरितां येण्याविषयीं निमंत्रणपत्रें पाठविल्यावरून तारीख १४ जानेवारी सन १८७८ रोजीं ४॥ वाजतां कलकत्त्यांतील टौन हॉलांत मोठी सभा भरली होती. बंगाल इलाख्यांतील व कलकत्त्यांतील वर्तमानपत्रकर्ते सर्व हजर होते व शिवायहि थोर लोक वगैरे मिळून सुमारें ३०० (तीनशें) गृहस्थ हजर होते. नंतर सभेचें कामकाज खालीं लिहिल्याप्रमाणें झालें.

रावबहादूर सदाशिव बल्लाळ गौंडे यांनीं सूचना केली व रा. रा. गणेश वासुदेव जोशी यांनीं अनुमोदन दिल्यावरून रा. रा. पंडित द्वारकानाथ विद्याभूषण भट्टाचार्य (सोमप्रकाश पत्राचे मालक आणि एडिटर) यांजला अध्यक्षस्थानीं नेमण्याचा ठराव होऊन त्यांनीं सर्वानुमतें अध्यक्षस्थान स्वीकारलें.

रा. रा. गणेश वासुदेव जोशी यांनीं सूचना केली आणि रा. ब. सदाशिव बल्लाळ गौंडे यांनीं अनुमोदन दिल्यावरून बाबू नोबो गोपाळ मित्र (न्याशनल पत्राचे एडिटर) यांजला सेक्रेटरी नेमलें.

रा. ब. सदाशिव बल्लाळ गौंडे यांनीं सभेची सुरवात केली आणि पुणें सार्वजनिक सभेनें कलकत्त्यांतील ब्रिटिश इंडियन ॲसोसिएशन, इंडियन ॲसोसिएशन व इंडियन लीग यांजला ता. १४ माहे डिसेंबर सन १८७७ चें पत्र लिहिलें तें ता. २७ डिसेंबर सन १८७७ मजकूरचे पुणें येथील ज्ञानप्रकाशांत प्रसिद्ध झालें आहे तें वाचून दाखविलें.

अध्यक्ष बाबू पंडित विद्याभूषण भट्टाचार्य यांनीं अशी सूचना केली कीं, नेटिव्ह प्रेस कॉन्फरन्स करण्यापासून किती फायदा आहे ही हकिकत सभेस बाबू नागेंद्रनाथ चातर्जी यांनीं कळवावी म्हणून सुचविण्यावरून सदर्हु गृहस्थ यांनीं बंगाली भाषेंत मोठें सुरस भाषण केलें. त्याचें तात्पर्य असें कीं, हिंदुस्थानची एकाग्रता होण्याचा ही कॉन्फरन्स हा मजबूत पाया आहे. येणेंकरून हिंदुस्थानांतील लोक एक कुटुंबवासी होऊन हिंदुस्थानांतील कोणत्याहि प्रांतांतील लोकांचें नफानुकसान झालें असता तें सर्व हिंदुस्थानचें आहे असें समजलें जाईल. हिंदुस्थानांत सुमारें २४ कोट प्रजा आहे. अशा रीतीनें ऐक्य झालें असतां पृथ्वीवर जितके देश आहेत त्यापासून या देशाचें भाग्य मोठें वाढेल कारण हिंदुस्थान देशासारखा पृथ्वीवर

दुसरा देश सुपीक कोणताहि नसून ऐक्याची जरूर आहे; तें ऐक्य झालें असतां मग हिंदुस्थानचे भाग्यास पारावार नाहीं अशा रीतीचें भाषण केलें.

सभेमध्यें संमत झालेल्यापैकीं कांहीं ठराव खालीं दिले आहेत

बाबू सुरेंद्रनाथ सेन (इंडियन मिरर पत्राचे मालक) यांनीं पहिले ठरावाची सूचना करते वेळेस खालीं लिहिल्याप्रमाणें संभाषण केलें :—

नेटिव वर्तमानपत्रकर्त्यांमध्यें एकमेकांचा कळवळा व कर्तव्याचें ऐक्य उत्पन्न होण्याकरितां व स्वदेशीय व राजकीय संबंध व स्वार्थ या विषयाबद्दल जें लेखन करावयाचें त्याविषयीं होऊं शकेल तितकी मनाची एकनिष्ठा उत्पन्न करण्याकरितां व आपलें कर्तव्य काय आहे व आपले हक्क काय आहेत याविषयीं समजूत पूर्णपणें होण्याकरितां दरसाल निदानपक्षीं एक वेळ तरी सदरीं लिहिलेले विषय पूर्णतेस नेण्याकरितां वर्तमानपत्रांचे प्रतिनिधि यांची सभा भरावी.

सदर्हु ठरावाचे सूचनेस बाबू नंद कृष्ण बोस यांनीं अनुमोदन दिल्यावर सर्वानुमतें ठराव कायम झाला.

बाबू जोगेंद्र विद्याभूषण यांनीं तिसरे ठरावाची सूचना केली तो ठराव—

कायदेशीर रीतीप्रमाणें नेटिव प्रेसचे हक्क व स्वतंत्रता हीं दोन्हीं रक्षण करण्याविषयीं आपण मनापासून प्रयत्न करावा.

सदर्हु सूचनेस बाबू जादोनाथ घोस यांनीं अनुमोदन देते वेळेस खालीलप्रमाणें संभाषण केलें :—

आम्हीं सभेस स्मरण देतों कीं आपले लोकांस कायदेशीर स्वतंत्रता आज अथवा लौकरच मिळणार आहे. आम्हीं वर्तमानपत्रकर्ते याच टौन हॉलमध्यें कितीएक वर्षांपूर्वी जमलेले होतों त्या वेळेस प्रेसची स्वतंत्रता आम्हांस मिळाली. आम्हीं येथें आज आपला जनमताचा हक्क व स्वतंत्रता हीं दोन्हीं आहेत तशीं उरलीं आहेत किंवा नाहींत हें पाहाणें हें आमचें कर्तव्यकर्म आहे.

सदर्हुप्रमाणें भाषण झाल्यानंतर सर्वानुमतें वर लिहिलेला ठराव कायम झाला.

नंतर सभेचे अध्यक्ष पंडित द्वारकानाथ विद्याभूषण भट्टाचार्य हे उभे राहून बंगाली भाषेंत पुणें सार्वजनिक सभा व त्यांनीं पाठविलेले डेप्युटेशनचे सभासद रावबहादूर सदाशिव बल्लाळ गौंडे व रा. रा. गणेश वासुदेव जोशी यांजला हिंदुस्थानांतील बहुतेक वर्तमानपत्रकर्ते यांनीं आपले तर्फेचे कॉन्फरन्समध्यें बसण्याकरितां रिप्रेझेंटेटिव म्हणून डेलिगेट वकील नेमिलें. त्यांनीं लांबचा प्रवास करून येथें येऊन सभेचा बेत उत्तम रीतीनें थाटांत आणिला. ज्या कलकत्त्यांत एकमेकांचे विरुद्ध अनेक मतें होतीं त्यांचें ऐक्य करून एक ठिकाणीं सर्वांस जमवून हें महत् कार्य केलें त्याजबद्दल व पुणें सार्वजनिक सभा व विशेषेंकरून मुंबई इलाख्यांतील नेटिव वर्तमानपत्रकर्ते यांचे कर्तव्याची व त्याच तर्फे उभयतां गृहस्थांची मोठी तारीफ केली व त्या सर्वांचे आभार मानले. याजला सर्व सभेनें मोठ्या आनंद घोषानें अनुमोदन दिलें. त्याच भाषणांत अध्यक्ष यांनीं बाबू शिशिरकुमार घोष—अमृत बझार पत्रिकेचे एडिटर यांचे श्रमाचेंही वर्णन केलें.

सभेचे तर्फे अध्यक्षांचे आजचे सभेच्या श्रमाबद्दल आभार मानून सुमारें साडेसहा वाजतां सभा विसर्जन झाली.

एतद्देशीय पत्रकर्त्यांचा समाज

वऱ्हाड–समाचार

२८ जानेवारी १८७७.

लॉर्ड लिटन साहेब हिंदुस्थानचे गवरनर जनरल यांनीं दिल्लीचे दरबारचे प्रसंगीं ज्या कित्येक गोष्टी केल्या त्यांत एक नवीन व मोठी गोष्ट केली. ती कोणती म्हणाल तर या देशच्या पुष्कळ वर्तमानपत्रकर्त्यास दरबारचा समारंभ पाहाण्यास त्यांनीं पाहुणे बोलाविले या मागे कोणत्याहि अधिकाऱ्यानें कोणत्याहि प्रसंगास असे नेटिव एडिटर लोक कधीं एकत्र बोलाविले नव्हते म्हणून ही गोष्ट इतिहासदाखल आमचे लोकांनीं लक्षांत ठेवली पाहिजे. या प्रसंगीं कोणकोणत्या ठिकाणच्या कोणकोणत्या पत्रांस बोलाविलें होतें व त्यांकडून कोण कोण गेले होते ते आम्हीं सर्वांच्या माहितीसाठी येथें लिहितों.

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प्रेस अँसोसिएशनची स्थापना

याच समाजांत कित्येकांचे सूचनेवरून असा विचार निघाला कीं सर्व देशांतील वर्तमानपत्रकर्त्यांची सुखदुःखें सर्व पत्रकर्त्यांस कळावीं व सर्वांचें दळणवळण चालूं रहावें व उत्तम प्रतीच्या पत्रकर्त्यास सहाय व बुद्धिवाद मिळावा, यासाठीं सर्व वर्तमानपत्रकर्त्यांची एक सभा असावी व तिला "नेटिव प्रेस असोसिएशन" असें नांव द्यावें. हा विचार सर्वांस मान्य होऊन लागलीच सभेची स्थापना झाली व म्यानेजिंग कमेटीकडून तिचे नियम झाले. त्यांत एक उत्तम नियम असा झाला आहे कीं प्रतिवर्षीं हें असोसिएशन कोणत्या एका मध्य ठिकाणीं कांहीं दिवस जमत जावें व त्या वर्षांत घडलेल्या गोष्टींचा आणि पुढील वर्षाकरितां करावयाच्या अवश्य सूचनांचा विचार होत जावा. त्याप्रमाणें प्रतिवर्षीं सर्व वर्तमानपत्रकर्त्यांचा असा समाज एकत्र मिळत जाईल तर खचित त्यापासून फायदा होईल त्यांत संशय नाहीं.

रा. रा. गणेश वासुदेव जोशी व त्यांचीं व्याख्यानें

तारीख २८ फेब्रुवारी १८७७.

पुणें सार्वजनिक सभेचे उत्पादक रा. रा. गणेश वासुदेव जोशी, आपले बंधु रा. रा. कृष्णाजी वासुदेव जोशी, सातारा, सा. सभेचे सेक्रेटरी, यासहित अकोल्यास येऊन रविवारीं सायंकाळीं टौन हॉलांत सुमारें पावणेतीन तास एकसारखें त्यांनीं व्याख्यान दिलें. भाषण फारच सुरस, प्रेमळ, चित्तवेधक व अन्तःकरणावर ठसा वठविणारें होतें.

गणपतराव जोशी यांच्या सारखे देशहिताची कळकळ बाळगून झटणारे पुरुष साऱ्या हिंदुस्थानांत फारच थोडे आहेत म्हणजे आणखी एक दोनच निघाल्यास निघतील.

आपल्या भाषणांत गणपतराव म्हणाले—"व्हाईसराय साहेबांनी संतोषित होऊन कळविलें कीं सार्वजनिक सभेपैकीं दहा (१०) गृहस्थांचे डेप्युटेशन दिल्ली दरबारास मानपत्र घेऊन येईल तर आम्हीं फार खुशी होऊं. त्यावरून मी स्वतः व आणखी नऊ (९) गृहस्थ असें दिल्लीस गेलो व व्हाइसराय साहेबांस मानपत्र सादर केलें व त्यांनीं सत्कारपूर्वक घेऊन आपली खुशी झाली व हे मानपत्र आम्ही राणी साहेबांकडे पाठवूं, असें सांगितलें. हा प्रकार मानपत्राचे संबंधानें झाला परंतु दिल्लीस सर्व देशचे राजे व विद्वान लोक जमले होते त्यांचे ऐक्य होण्याकरितां तेथें एकमेकांच्या भेटी होण्याविषयीं जीं आम्ही दिल्लीस जाण्यापूर्वी सर्व लोकांस लेखी पत्रें लिहिलीं होतीं व ज्यांची प्रसिद्धि सर्व वर्तमानपत्रांतून झाली आहे त्याप्रमाणें एकमेकांचे ऐक्य संबंधाच्या भेटीही तेथें बऱ्याच झाल्या व पांचसातशें कोस लांब केलेल्या प्रवासाचें, श्रमाचें व खर्चाचें चीज झाले. हा प्रकार दिल्लीस झाल्यावर तेथून परत येते वेळेस मथुरा, वृंदावन, आग्रा, जयपूर, कानपूर, लखनौ, अयोध्या, काशी, कलकत्ता, अलाहाबाद, बऱ्हाणपूर, व नागपूर इतक्या ठिकाणीं आम्ही जाऊन आलो. कांहीं कांहीं ठिकाणीं ४–५ दिवसाचें मुक्काम केले व आज ज्याप्रमाणें तुमचे एथें सभा भरून आपलें येण्याचा उद्देश आणि आपले कर्तव्य यांच्या संबंधानें भाषण करीत आहे त्याप्रमाणें बहुतेक ठिकाणीं भाषणें होऊन आपले देशबांधवांचें बंधुत्वाचें नातें माझ्याकडून करवले तितके मी दृढतर केलें. आज हा शेवटला प्रसंग हचा अकोल्यास आहे. आतां येथून आम्ही एकदम पुण्यास जाऊं." नंतर ते म्हणाले, "आम्ही राणी साहेबांस मानपत्र दिलें, त्यांतील कांहीं भाग पुढें दिला आहे :—

नेटिव राजेलोकांची इंग्लिश राज्य कारभारांत मदत घेत जावी.
वऱ्हाड प्रांत निजाम सरकारकडून व सातारा प्रांत मराठ्यांकडून विनाकारण घेतला आहे तो त्यांचा त्यांस परत द्यावा.
सनदी सिविल सर्व्हिसच्या जागा नेटिवास देत जाव्या.
विलायतेचे पार्लमेंटांत हिंदुस्थाचे तर्फेनें लोक नेमावे.
लढाईचें खात्यांत नेटिवांस मोठ्या हुद्याच्या जागा मिळाव्या व नेटिवांस निःशस्त्र केलें आहे तीं शस्त्रें त्यांची त्यांस परत मिळावी.
हिंदुस्थानांतील जमिनीचा सरकार सारा कायमचा व्हावा.
हिंदुस्थानचे कायदे कौंसिलांत प्रजेनें नेमलेले लोक असावेत.
हिंदुस्थानावर विलायतचें जें कर्ज आहे त्याचे व्याज कमी व्हावे.

"आपण आपलें दुःख राजास लेखी कळविल्या खेरीज त्याची दाद लागणें नाहीं. व्यक्ति रूपानें जे दुःख आहे त्याची दाद लागण्याचा जो उद्योग करितो परंतु सर्व देशावर जो दुःखाचा प्रसंग आहे किंवा येईल त्याचे निवारणाकरितां सर्व लोकांकडून उद्योग झाला पाहिजे.

तसा न झाला असतां दाद लागणार नाहीं आणि सर्व लोकांकडून उद्योग होण्याकरितां सार्वजनिक सभा देशोदेशी स्थापन होऊन त्यांचें मार्फत दाद लागण्याकरितां वारंवार अर्ज झाले पाहिजेत. येणें करून प्रजेचे हेतु राजास पूर्ण रीतीनें समजतील व त्याच सभेचे मार्फत राजाचेहि हेतु प्रजेस समजले जातील. तेव्हां आतां कोणतीहि भीति मनांत न आणतां आपले देशबांधवांनीं आपले कर्तव्यांत सुस्ति न करितां आपले काम बजवावें हाच आतां उपाय राहिला आहे. त्यांत आपण चुकलो असतां सर्वस्वास मुकलो असेंच समजलें पाहिजे.

"प्रजेप्रजेचे आपसांत ऐक्य व प्रेमभाव रहावा याकरितां आपल्यास कांहीं साधन करणें जरूर आहे. आणि हल्लीं तें ऐक्य राहात नाहीं याचें कारण प्रजेप्रजेंत वाद असतात त्यांचे निकालाकरितां जी कोर्टें सरकारचीं स्थापन केलीं आहेत त्यामार्फत जे निकाल होतात तेणेंकरून द्रव्यनाश होतो, द्वेष उत्पन्न होतो, अनीतीनें वागण्याकडे प्रजेचा कल जातो आणि आपला अमोल्य वेळ व मान यांचीहि बऱ्याच अंशी हानी होते. आपण आपले वाद सरकारी कोर्टांत निकाल करावयास न नेतां पंचामार्फत त्याचे निकाल करून द्यावें. येणेंकरून जो आपल्यावर अवघड प्रसंग आहे त्यांतून आपण मुक्त होऊन आपले बंधुत्वाचे प्रेम ज्यास्ती वाढून त्याचा परिणाम फार सुखावह होईल नाहीं तर प्रजा ह्या सरकारी कोर्टांतून जाऊन जाऊन अगदीं दरिद्री होईल व सरकारास जो इतर करभार मिळतो तो मिळावयास कठीण पडेल आणि अनिती वाढून देशांत अस्वस्थता दिवसेंदिवस वाढत जाईल व पंचमार्फत आपले वादाचा निकाल करून घेतल्यानें जो अनुभव पुणें व दुसरे किती एक ठिकाणीं आला आहे त्यावरून स्पष्ट ठरते कीं तसा प्रकार प्रत्येक ठिकाणी व्हावा म्हणजे त्यापासून प्रजेस ऐक्यभाव राहून आपले देशाचा उत्कर्ष चांगले रीतीनें होईल.

"शंपन्नास वर्षांपूर्वी हिंदुस्थानचें लोकांचें निर्वाहास पुरे इतके कापड तयार होऊन अधिक राहिलेले परदेशांतहि विलायतेस वगैरे विकावयास जात होते ते मात्र अलिकडे थोडे दिवसांत बदलून जाऊन केवळ उलट स्थिती झाली म्हणजे आतां कोट्यावधि रुपयांचे कापड विलायतेहून आपले देशांत येऊन तितके रुपये व्यापार संबंधानें परदेशांत जात आहेत व असाच प्रकार इतर मालाचेहि कामांत आहे. अशी संपत्ती सर्व परदेशांत जाऊं लागली आहे. व याविषयीं विचार आपण केला नाहीं तर थोडेच दिवसांत आपले हिंदुस्थानांत केवळ जेवावें व बसावे इतके शिल्लक राहील आणि आणखी थोडे दिवसांनीं जेवणाचे पदार्थहि विलायतेहून येऊन त्यावर आपण निर्वाह करूं लागू. असा प्रकार झाला म्हणजे राजकीय संबंधानें प्रस्तुत मनुष्य वर्गांत जशी आपली गणती नाहीं तशी इतर व्यवहारांतही होऊन केवळ पशुवर्गांत आपण ढकलले जाणार. तेव्हां असा प्रकार न व्हावा आणि अन्नवस्त्र तरी आपले देशांत आपल्यास मिळावें असा आपण अभिमान धरला पाहिजे. संतोषाची गोष्ट आहे कीं थोडे वर्षांपासून या संबंधानें आपले देशांत विच्यार सुरूं झाला आहे आणि सुताचे कारखाने वगैरे वाढत चालले आहेत. या गोष्टीकडे आपण थोडे लक्ष देऊन आपले देशाचे संपत्तीचा प्रवाह परदेशांत व्यापार रूपानें जात आहे तो जितका कमी होईल तितका कमी केला पाहिजे व तसें करितांना आपणास थोडी इजा झाली तरी ती सोसली पाहिजे. खरोखरी म्हटलें असतां थोडेसे जाडे भरडे वस्त्र नेसणें ही मुळींच इजा नव्हे. आपले पूर्वज देशाभिमानाकरितां आपले शरीर अर्पण करीत होते. देशाकरितां आपला देह देणें हींच त्याजला मुक्ति वाटत होती. त्यांचे आपण वंशज आहों तर आपले देशाभिमानाकरितां थोडीहि गैरसोय आपण न सोसूं तर केवळ आपण आपले पूर्वजांचे नांवास काळोखी आणिली व व्यर्थ आपण या देशांत जन्म घेतला असे होऊं शकेल. सबब आपले देशांत आपले निर्वाहाचे पदार्थ उत्पन्न करून त्यावर आपला निर्वाह करून परदेशांस पुन्हां ते पदार्थ पुरवून आपली संपत्ती वाढवूं अशी उमेद ठेवली व यत्न केला तरच कांहीं आपला बचाव आहे; नाहीं तर आपण पशुवत तरी कायम राहूं किंवा नाहीं याचा संशय वाटतो."

APPENDIX.

भोरकरांचीं रंगोबापुजीस पत्रें

[सोबतचीं तीन मूळ मोडीपत्रें श्रीमंत पंतसचिव चिमणाजी रघुनाथ, संस्थान भोर, यांनीं रंगोबापुजी यांना ता. १ जून, ९ जून आणि १५ जून १८५७ यावेळीं लिहिलेलीं आहेत. या सुमारास रंगोबापुजी हे १८५७च्या लढ्याचीं या विभागांत उभारणी करण्यांत गुंतले होते. त्यावरून व या पत्रांतील मजकुरावरून श्रीमंत राजेसाहेबांचीं हीं पत्रें त्याच कार्यांतील सहकार्यासाठीं असावींत असें अनुमान निघते. या पत्रांतील सातारकरांच्या संबंधीचा उल्लेखहि लक्षांत घेण्यासारखा आहे.]

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श्री रामचंद्र

राजश्री रंगोबापुजी विशेष. आपलें व आमचें भोर मुक्कामीं बोलणें झालें. त्या प्रमाणें आम्ही (इ)कडून तजवीज करून मागावून चिठ्ठी पाठवितो. तिकडील आपण तजवीज करावी. ता. १ जून १८५७ ई०.

चिमणाजी रघुनाथ सचीव.

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श्री रामचंद्र

राजश्री रंगोबापुजी विशेष. आपण येण्याविषयीं तजवीज करावी म्हणून लिहिलें. त्यास आपल्या लिहिण्याप्रमाणें तजवीज करून पाठवितो. ता. ९ जून १८५७ ई०.

चिमणाजी रघुनाथ सचीव.

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श्री रामचंद्र

राजश्री रंगोबापुजी विशेष. आपण तारीख पंधरा जूनच्या सर्व कामांबद्दल तजवीज ठेविली म्हणोन लिहिलें हें समजलें. त्याप्रमाणें आपण करून मग इकडून (न) सर्व संकेताप्रमाणें आम्ही करूं. आणि आम्ही तुमचे बाहेर नाहीं. या प्रमाणें महाराज यांसी सांगावें. अनमान करूं नये. ता. १० जून १८५७ ई०.

चिमणाजी रघुनाथ सचीव.

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